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THE REVOLUTION AND ITS TREATMENT OF  
WOMEN'S RIGHTS THEMES

BY

DOROTHY J. CLINE

A thesis submitted  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree Master of Science, Major in  
Journalism, South Dakota  
State University

1975

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THE REVOLUTION AND ITS TREATMENT OF

WOMEN'S RIGHTS THEMES

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree Master of Science, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree, but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

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Thesis Adviser

Date

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Head, Department of Journalism  
and Mass Communication

Date

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DJC

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with The Revolution, a weekly newspaper, published for four years in New York City in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first two and a half years, under the management of Susan B. Anthony, the newspaper was a vehicle for the many causes of women's rights and for women's suffrage. After Miss Anthony sold the paper, it became a literary and society journal. A year and a half later it was taken over by the New York Christian Enquirer.

The time covered by this study is January 1, 1868, through May 22, 1870, the period in which the newspaper was managed by Miss Anthony. The study includes the first through the seventy-second issues.

#### Procedure

To fully explore the topic described and to insure originality of research, these publications were surveyed to determine if any previous inquiries had been made relating to The Revolution:

Comprehensive Dissertation Index, 1861-1972, Vol. 31, Communications and the Arts, Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Dissertation Abstracts International, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1955-1973.

Masters Abstracts. A Catalog of Selected Masters Theses on Microfilm, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Vol. 1, No. 3 through Vol. 12, No. 12, 1963-1974.

Journalism Quarterly, Cumulative Index to Volumes 1-40, 1924-1963, Association for Education in Journalism, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Journalism Quarterly, Special Supplement: Cumulative Index to Volumes 41-50, 1973, Association for Education in Journalism, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Journalism Abstracts, M.A., M.S., Ph.D. Theses in Journalism and Mass Communication, Association for Education in Journalism, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Vol. 1, 1963 through Vol. 12, 1974.

The above search revealed one master's thesis applicable to the topic. This study was "A History of Feminist Periodicals," by Anne Dudley Mather, University of Georgia, 1973. This thesis was reviewed and the determination made that it did not contain an in-depth history of The Revolution nor of the content of The Revolution.

### Methodology

To give this report historical perspective, the women's rights movement in America was studied from the settlement of New England to and including the year in which The Revolution started publication.

The history of the founding of The Revolution and the newspaper's experiences during Miss Anthony's proprietorship were also studied, and against this background The Revolution was examined for evidence of editorial treatment of the basic themes of the women's rights movement.

All issues of The Revolution during the period between January 8, 1868, and May 22, 1970, were examined for the purpose of identifying

women's rights themes and exemplifying treatment of such themes in The Revolution. In selecting representative articles and quotations, particular, although not exclusive, attention was given to editorial comment.

The first volume of the series is devoted to the period from 1848 to 1854, the second to 1855 to 1861, the third to 1862 to 1868, and the fourth to 1869 to 1875. The volumes are arranged in chronological order, and each volume contains a list of the articles and quotations selected for that period.

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## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Early American women did not exist officially under the law. A woman was expected to show deference for and obedience to her husband; his authority was absolute. She was his slave, if that was what he wished, and if he treated her equally, it was by choice, not by legal dictate.

The law, literally interpreted and untempered by equity, gave them [husbands] almost unlimited power over the persons of their wives and daughters. . . .<sup>1</sup>

With women in a position of servitude to men, it was inevitable that a woman would question the fairness of her subjugation and challenge her oppressors. Since early Americans left their homeland to escape religious persecution, it is ironic that the first protest in America against women's inferior position came as a religious protest.

#### Religion

The question of equal status for women was first raised in the earliest days of the founding of New England, when Anne Hutchinson challenged the Puritan theocracy of Boston, not only in the field of religious dogma, but also in its assumption that no woman could have a voice in church affairs.<sup>2</sup>

Anne Hutchinson was saying that the church (and the State as well, as there was no separation between them) did not have the only

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Sinclair, The Better Half (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 9.



direct line to God. In maintaining that she could "commune directly with God," she declared herself equal to man, to church, and to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.<sup>3</sup>

For the first time on this continent, the place assigned to women was questioned publicly--and, by a woman. The threat was met by a merciless inquisition followed by excommunication of the woman who dared to challenge church and state.<sup>4</sup>

Anne Hutchinson, sentenced as a leper; Mary Dyer, a Quaker convert, hanged for preaching; 25 women executed as witches in New England, primarily for opposition to the local minister, gave ample evidence that colonial men were not prepared to accept the equality of women in religion.<sup>5</sup>

### Education

The situation was not much different in education. The mental capacities of women were considered inferior to those of men.<sup>6</sup>

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3 Flexner, p. 11.

4 Flexner, p. 12.

5 Sinclair, pp. 23-24. It was also pointed out by Sinclair that religious intolerance was less violent outside New England and that Quakers in Pennsylvania first gave women the chance for religious equality and liberty.

6 Dr. Kaethe Schirmacher, The Modern Woman's Rights Movement, translated from the 2d. German edition by Carl Conrad Eckhardt (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 23-24; Sinclair, p. 29; Flexner, p. 23.

The first attack on male mental superiority came from the seaport town of Gloucester, Massachusetts, a village where women frequently took on men's jobs and responsibilities while their husbands were at sea.

Judith Sargent Murray, the daughter of a prosperous merchant and sea captain, pondered the inequality of educational opportunities open to men and women in an essay published in 1790, but written during the Revolutionary War. Questioning the mental superiority of men, a superiority seemingly unchallenged publicly to this point, Miss Murray set an early pattern for later feminists, who sometimes as proponents of equality for women, slipped past the point of equality to a claim of superiority for women. She wrote:

. . . Yet it may be questioned, from what source doth this superiority, in this determining faculty of the soul (the judgment) proceed? May we not trace its source in the difference of education and continued advantages? Will it be said that the judgment of a male two years old, is more sage than that of a female's of the same age? I believe the reverse is generally observed to be true. But from that period what partiality! How is the one exalted and the other depressed, by the contrary modes of education that are adopted! The one is taught to aspire, the other is early confined and limited. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Almost 30 years elapsed with little progress in dispelling the idea that woman's brain was smaller in capacity and inferior in quality to that of man. Then in 1818, "Observations on the Real Rights of Women," a tract by Hanna Mather Crocker, a granddaughter of Cotton

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7 Flexner, pp. 15-16.

Mather, was published. Mrs. Crocker wrote:

There can be no doubt that there is as much difference in the powers of each individual of the male sex as there is of the female; and if they received the same mode of education, their improvement would be fully equal.<sup>8</sup>

The first schools for women. A year later, Mrs. Emma Willard, a teacher in Vermont, pleaded with the Governor of New York and the legislature to grant her a charter for a women's seminary whose curriculum would include natural and domestic sciences. She got the charter and raised funds for the first endowed institution for the education of girls. Already an innovative teacher, she introduced the subject of physiology at a time when "any mention of the human body by ladies was considered the height of indelicacy."<sup>9</sup>

Mrs. Willard's school was Oberlin, the first institution to admit all comers, regardless of race, color, or sex. It prepared students to be better mothers and wives. Catherine Beecher's school in Hartford, Connecticut, trained women to teach or to do some form of domestic work.

Mary Lyon, the founder of Mount Holyoke, took education for women a step further. Her students entering Mount Holyoke in 1837 had to pass an entrance examination. Those who passed and were accepted faced courses covering the same subject matter as that covered by

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8 Flexner, p. 25, quoting Hannah Mother Crocker in "Observations on the Real Rights of Women" (Boston, 1818), p. 41.

9 Flexner, p. 26.

their male counterparts--geography, history, botany, chemistry, rhetoric, and philosophy. Calisthenics, music, and French were also required.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1865 and 1870, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe, and Bryn Mawr--all colleges for women--were established.<sup>11</sup>

Women were on the move in education. Flexner wrote, "It was becoming clear, to the dismay and regret of some, that there was no telling where it would all end."<sup>12</sup>

Schools for Negro women. As bad as the position of women was in the 1800's, the position of the colored female was far worse than that of the white female. Even in states where slavery had been abolished, colored children were barred from the common schools in many places.

Inevitably, the Negro girl suffered more deprivation than her brothers. If a white woman was supposed to be mentally incapable of receiving the same education as a man, and Negroes were inferior to whites, it followed that the Negro girl had the least possible potential for mental growth.<sup>13</sup>

In 1833-1834, Prudence Crandall, a Connecticut Quaker, accepted a Negro student in her exclusive school in Canterbury. In the storm that broke over her head, Miss Crandall closed her school rather than

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10 Flexner, pp. 29-36.

11 Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 2.

12 Flexner, p. 36.

13 Flexner, p. 37.

oust her Negro pupil. Then she enlisted abolitionist leaders in the cause. Her advertisements in the Liberator, the abolitionist paper of William Lloyd Garrison, urging Negro parents to send their daughters to her for instruction, were fruitful, and she opened another school with 17 Negro girls. For a year and a half she kept her school running under extreme harrassment from the citizens of Canterbury. Finally, with the safety of the girls in jeopardy, she closed the doors.<sup>14</sup>

The efforts of Prudence Crandall linked education for females with the issue of slavery, an issue that was soon to absorb the time and effort of any woman willing to venture outside her home for such a cause.

### Public Speaking

The abolition movement was a training ground for the early women's movement. It taught women to organize, to hold public meetings, to conduct petition campaigns, to speak in public--knowledge that was invaluable to the women's movement.<sup>15</sup>

Although a number of women orators preceded them, the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, were among the first to speak publicly.<sup>16</sup> They were harrassed and frequently reminded that public speaking was

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<sup>14</sup> Flexner, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Flexner, p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Hole and Levine, p. 2.

indecorous for females and contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. The Grimkes were invited by the American Anti-Slavery Society to speak at small parlor gatherings of women in New York. From the first, the response was surprising. More than 300 women appeared for their first abolitionist speech. This number increased at succeeding speeches, and before long Angelina was speaking to large, mixed audiences, and Sarah was writing articles for the New England Spectator. Both women faced the opposition of the church and the public. They fought back, and in doing so, linked slavery to the position of women.

Flexner quotes Angelina Grimke in a letter to the man she later married:

We cannot push Abolitionism forward with all our might until we take up the stumbling block out of the road. . . . If we surrender the right to speak in public this year, we must surrender the right to petition next year, and the right to write the year after, and so on. What then can woman do for the slave, when she herself is under the feet of a man and shamed into silence?<sup>17</sup>

Flexner described those early anti-slavery efforts this way:

The women who took part in it were taking a long stride ahead. Not only were they engaging in a political act, now on behalf of others, but they were also securing a right which they would use later in their own interest. They were the first detachment in the army of ordinary rank-and-file women who were to struggle for more than three quarters of a century for equality. It took the same kind of courage as that displayed by the Grimke sisters for the average housewife, mother, or daughter to overstep the limits of decorum, disregard the frowns, or jeers, or outright commands of her menfolk and go to her first public meeting, or take her first petition and walk

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17 Flexner, p. 48.

down an unfamiliar street, knocking on doors and asking for signatures to an unpopular plea. Not only would she be going out unattended by husband or brother; but she usually encountered hostility, if not outright abuse for her unwomanly behavior.<sup>18</sup>

Throughout the history of the women's rights movement, feminists who were the proponents of change had to face the ridicule and hostility of other women. While fighting the foe--man and his privileged status--they were forced also to educate their sisters and to convince the unconvinced that their rights were, in fact, infringed upon.

The great courage of women who were forerunners to the organized Woman's Movement of the nineteenth century is recognized only in perspective of the times. The abuse heaped on early feminists came not only from men, but from women--and there were many--who were satisfied with their child's role in society and had no desire to come out from under the protective arms of their father, husband, or brothers. Still, the number of women carrying petitions against slavery grew.<sup>19</sup>

### Economics

Giving additional impetus to the Woman's Rights Movement in the first half of the nineteenth century was the increasing number of women in industrial positions. At first their work was done piecemeal in the home, but with the industrial revolution, the demand for women in textile mills developed.

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18 Flexner, p. 51.

19 Flexner, p. 86.

Women's disadvantages in the labor market--longer hours, less pay than men--gradually fostered the idea of joint action of women to better their conditions. Only modest and isolated success was realized, however, from their efforts. In 1837, Sarah Grimke commented on women's position of inferiority:

. . . [It] bears with tremendous effect on the laboring classes, and indeed on almost all who are obliged to earn a sustenance, whether it be by mental or physical exertion--I allude to the disproportionate value set on the time and labor of men and women. This I know is the case in boarding and other schools with which I have been acquainted, and it is so in every occupation in which the sexes engage indiscriminately. As for example, in tailoring, a man has twice or three times as much for making a waistcoat or pantaloons as a woman, although the work done by each may be equally good. In those employments which are peculiar to women, their time is estimated at half the value of that of men. A woman who goes out to wash, works as hard in proportion as a wood sawyer or a coal heaver, but she is not generally able to make more than half as much by a day's work.<sup>20</sup>

It was not enough that women worked longer hours and made less than men; there was no certainty that a husband would not demand that his wife hand over to him everything she made.

A working woman could be compelled to hand over every penny of her wages to a drunkard husband, even if she was left with nothing for her own subsistence or the maintenance of her children. . . .<sup>21</sup>

Early trade organizations. Actually, little progress was made toward equal rights for laboring women until almost midway in the century. Sporadic protests were recorded in the 1830's, but it was

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20 Flexner, pp. 53-54, quoting Sarah Grimke, The Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women (Boston, 1838), pp. 50-51.

21 Flexner, p. 63.



1845 before any effective organization of laboring women developed. The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, led from 1845 to 1846 by Sarah Bagley, the first woman trade unionist of note in this country, scored a few modest victories in shorter workdays for women.<sup>22</sup>

Two national unions admitted women to their memberships--the cigarmakers in 1867 and the printers in 1869--and women formed independent unions within specific industries. The Working Woman's Association, which took in any and all women who worked for their living, and the Protective Association, which dealt with welfare problems, were organized in many cities.<sup>23</sup>

In 1868, when Susan B. Anthony started her weekly newspaper, The Revolution, the policy statement on page one of the first issue included "Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor."<sup>24</sup>

Miss Anthony backed her statement with considerable time and effort devoted to helping women organize, especially during the latter part of 1868.

Typical of items in The Revolution were:

A meeting of ladies was held on September 17 at noon in the offices of The Revolution newspaper, 37 Park Row, for the purpose of organizing an association of working-women, which might act for the interests of its members, in the same manner as the associations of working-men now regulate the wages, etc., of those belonging to them.<sup>25</sup>

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22 Flexner, p. 56.

23 Flexner, p. 132.

24 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

25 The Revolution, September 24, 1868, p. 181.

Prejudices and inequalities. Although the number of women employed in industry grew steadily, many positions were still closed to women.<sup>26</sup> The concept of the inferiority of women barred them from training for more skilled work and therefore from entering other occupations; it also prevented their receiving the same pay as a man for similar work.

The Supreme Court of Illinois, in 1869, denied an application of Myra Bradwell, a married woman, for a license to follow the profession of attorney-at-law. The opinion of the court denying the application, read

That God designed the sexes to occupy different spheres of action, and that it belonged to men to make, apply, and execute the laws, was regarded as an almost axiomatic truth. . . .

We are certainly warranted in saying, that when the Legislature gave to this court the power of granting licenses to practice law, it was with not the slightest expectation that this privilege would be extended equally to men and women.

Neither has there been any legislation since that period which would justify in presuming a change in the legislative intent. Our laws to-day in regard to women, are substantially what they have always been, except in the change wrought by the acts of 1861 and 1869, giving to married women the right to control their own property and earnings.<sup>27</sup>

On every front, women were fighting inequalities. Medicine, law and many other professions and occupations were virtually closed to women.

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<sup>26</sup> Flexner, p. 131. The census rose from 225,922 in 1850 to 270,987 by 1860, and to 323,370 by 1870.

<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mathilda Joselyn Gage, The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. II, 1861-1876 (Rochester, New York, 1881), pp. 611-612.

### Social and Legal Status

A concise list of legal inequalities is contained in the wedding pact read aloud by Lucy Stone, a famous orator in the anti-slavery cause and a proponent of woman's rights. She and Henry Blackwell, also an anti-slavery leader, at their marriage in 1855 signed a protest as part of their wedding ceremony:

While acknowledging our mutual affection by publicly assuming the relationship of husband and wife, . . . this act on our part implies no sanction of, nor promise of voluntary obedience to such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent, rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. We protest especially against the laws which give the husband:

1. The custody of the wife's person.
2. The exclusive control and guardianship of their children.
3. The sole ownership of her personal and use of her real estate, unless previously settled upon her, or placed in the hands of trustees, as in the case of minors, lunatics and idiots.
4. The absolute right to the product of her industry.
5. Also against laws which give to the widower so much larger and more permanent an interest in the property of his deceased wife than they give to the widow in that of the deceased husband.
6. Finally, against the whole system by which 'the legal existence of the wife is suspended during marriage' so that, in most States, she neither has a legal part in the choice of her residence, nor can she make a will, nor sue or be sued in her own name, nor inherit property.<sup>28</sup>

Denied rights of citizenship; denied right to work; taxed without representation; ranked in the constitutions of all States with idiots, lunatics, criminals and paupers; denied the right of petition;

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28 History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1, p. 261.

defranchised--this was a partial description of the status of women in 1868 when the first issue of The Revolution appeared.<sup>29</sup>

### Politics

On the issue of suffrage, women were having equally difficult times. By 1848 some progress had been made, yet it was minimal in terms of the inequalities that reformers recognized. But 1848 was to be the year from which the inception of the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States is commonly dated.

Seneca Falls Convention. In July of that year, the Seneca (New York) Convention--"a convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of woman" drew about 300 persons. Despite the fact that the first day of the convention had been publicized in the Seneca County Courier as exclusively for women, about 40 men appeared and were admitted.

The initiators of the convention were two women whose names were to become synonymous with the Woman's Rights Movement. The first was Lucretia Mott.

Like Judith Sargent Murray before her, Mrs. Mott was the daughter of a seaman. Her mother ran a store and carried on the family affairs in the tradition of the wives of seaman. Lucretia Mott became an active abolitionist and the founder of the first Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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<sup>29</sup> The Revolution, January 8, 1868, pp. 9-10.

The second woman was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the young wife of an abolitionist leader and the daughter of a New York judge. She was destined to play an important role in the Woman's Movement, speaking and writing on women's rights for 50 years.

Both women had been delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840 and had been incensed when the convention ruled that only men could be seated. The idea of a meeting in America dedicated to the rights of women was born in London, fed by the discontent of the two women at being rejected as delegates.

It was 1848 before Mrs. Mott and Mrs. Stanton joined three Quaker women to plan the Woman's Rights Convention that became known as The Seneca Falls Convention.<sup>30</sup>

Elizabeth Stanton made her maiden speech in behalf of women's rights at the opening of the convention. As she addressed her audience, she could not guess that it would take 72 long years of effort and pleading by women before a women's suffrage amendment would be written into the Constitution of the United States.

Reading the "Declaration of Sentiments," which drew on the powerful passages of Thomas Jefferson, Mrs. Stanton opened with, "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men and women are created equal . . . "; then she enumerated the grievances of women. Women were

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<sup>30</sup> Lutz, Alma, Created Equal, A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton (New York: The John Day Company, 1940), pp. 44-54; Dorr, Rheta Childe, Susan B. Anthony, The Woman Who Changed the Mind of a Nation (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1928), pp. 45-51; Flexner, pp. 71-77.

deprived of the ballot, of rights to property, of the right to their persons, and of rights over their children. Married women were civilly dead; single women were taxed without representation. Women were deprived of educational and occupational opportunities. And finally, a double standard of morality and the assumption of superiority by males made women's degradation complete.<sup>31</sup>

The Declaration of Sentiments was approved by those assembled, and resolutions supporting it were passed, including one declaring the right of women to the elective franchise. The franchise resolution, proposed and supported by Mrs. Stanton, carried by a narrow margin. It was the first formal public demand for women's suffrage in the United States.<sup>32</sup>

Women's Rights Conventions. Following that first meeting, a second convention was held two weeks later in Rochester, New York. A year and a half passed before another was called. Then in 1850, the first national women's rights convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts. From that time through 1861 national women's rights conventions were held every year except 1857.

The last women's rights convention before the Civil War was held in Albany in 1861.<sup>33</sup> After that, all women's rights activities came to a halt. Advocates were urged to drop their cause and support the war

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31 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 48.

32 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 49.

33 The History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1, p. 745.

effort, and most did. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were among those who did not.

Time of struggle. For women activists, this was a period of trying to gain support for their cause and trying to agree on what they wanted to achieve. Gradually, the tone of the press, which had been hostile, became less negative. In general, however, there was little editorial support for women's causes. To take up some of the void, a succession of journals published by women for women appeared. One of these, the Lily, was edited by Amelia Bloomer, whose name was given to a dress style introduced to protest the tight-fitting, clinched waists and the stays and voluminous petticoats of the day.

Women's rights advocates became known as "bloomers" and the movement for equal rights as well as the individual women were [sic] subjected to increasing ridicule.<sup>34</sup>

Mrs. Stanton with Miss Anthony, a relative newcomer to the women's rights scene, adopted the costume. Later they gave it up, not because they had changed their minds about its practicality or propriety, but because they decided its controversial effect detracted from the women's rights messages they were trying to convey.

Fourteenth Amendment. After the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, abolitionists began to support passage of the Fourteenth Amendment to secure the rights of citizens. It was this amendment that fractured the association of abolitionists and women activists and split the women's right movement.

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34 Hole and Levine, p. 9.



The Fourteenth Amendment introduced a sex distinction, the word "male," to specify voting privileges for citizens. Enraged, Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton, and others organized an extensive campaign to fight the amendment. But the opposition was formidable. Their old abolitionist allies were determined to separate women's rights from Negroes' rights. "This is the Negroes' hour," the women were told repeatedly. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton sent out petitions for a constitutional amendment to prohibit the states from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex, and almost 10,000 petitions were presented to congress in one session.<sup>35</sup> Predictably, however, the Fourteenth Amendment was passed on July 28, 1868--without deletion of the word "male."

Split in Woman's Suffrage Association. While passage of the amendment seemed to crystallize and focus the goal of the women's movement on suffrage, it also resulted in broad differences in opinion as to ways of achieving this goal. As a result of these differences, the Woman's Movement, then aligned with the Equal Rights Association, split into two major factions in 1869. The first of these, The National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA), was organized by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The second was the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone. The two organizations coexisted for more than 20 years.

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<sup>35</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 2, pp. 92-95.



Both organizations assumed as their first priority the drive for women's suffrage. While they used many of the same tactics, AWSA advocated state-by-state action to achieve the goal. NWSA advocated, in addition to state-by-state action, a women's suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. NWSA embraced broad causes of women's rights and looked on the vote as a means of achieving those rights. AWSA, far more conservative, limited itself to women's suffrage and avoided controversial subjects.<sup>36</sup>

Mouthpiece for women's rights. It was in this atmosphere that the weekly journal, The Revolution, appeared. Founded by the organizers and leaders of NWSA--Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton--it was inevitable that it would focus on women's suffrage. It was equally certain that it would examine the broad causes of women's rights.

The first issue of the newspaper began January, 1868. The publication took as its motto, "Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less."<sup>37</sup>

From the first, nothing seemed sacred to The Revolution. The editors examined prostitution, criminal cases involving women, the double standard for men and women, dress for women, and all the inequalities they noted in the country's institutions.

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36 Hole and Levine, pp. 10-11.

37 The Revolution, January 15, 1868.

## CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

While Susan B. Anthony's women's rights efforts in New York State were at their height, appeals for help reached her from Kansas, where amendments would be voted on enfranchising women and Negroes. Drawing what she called "almost my last hundred to go," Miss Anthony left with Mrs. Stanton for Kansas. There the two women started a speaking tour.<sup>38</sup>

The Revolution Conceived

It was in Kansas in 1867 that The Revolution was conceived and named, not by the women who guided its course, but by George Francis Train, "financier, speculator, opponent of 'sound money', a Democrat, and, allegedly, a former Copperhead."<sup>39</sup>

Train, invited by the St. Louis Suffrage Association to assist women in Kansas, telegraphed his willingness to come to Kansas at his own expense, and Miss Anthony welcomed his help. Lutz described him:

A tall handsome man with curly brown hair and keen gray eyes, flashily dressed in a blue coat with brass buttons, white vest, black trousers, patent-leather boots, and lavender kid gloves, he was a sight worth driving miles to see, and he gave his audience the best entertainment they had had in many

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38 Alma Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), pp. 129-131.

39 Flexner, p. 150.

a day, shouting jingles at them in the midst of his speeches and mercilessly ridiculing the Republicans.<sup>40</sup>

Together, Miss Anthony and Mr. Train undertook a speaking tour to the remotest areas of Kansas. It was the beginning of a firm friendship between the two.

The reaction of the abolitionists, the Equal Rights Association, and women activists to Miss Anthony's association with Train was far from favorable. Train was said to be an eccentric, a self-made millionaire, a Democrat, and a Negro-hater--a combination which was bound to alienate abolitionists, Republicans, and feminists. Most of Miss Anthony's friends found it difficult to understand why she and Mrs. Stanton could align themselves with someone of such questionable character. But the two women needed help, and Mr. Train was willing to give it. Mrs. Stanton was quoted as saying she would "say amen to the Devil" if he offered money for a newspaper.<sup>41</sup>

On one of the last days of the Kansas campaign, Train asked Miss Anthony why there was no woman's suffrage paper. When she replied that there was no money, Train replied, "Well, I think I shall have to give you the money myself."<sup>42</sup>

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40 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 131.

41 Sinclair, p. 189.

42 Dorr, p. 196.

At that evening's suffrage meeting, much to the surprise of Miss Anthony, Train announced that she would be starting a woman's suffrage paper when she returned to New York:

Its name is to be The Revolution. . . . This paper is to be a weekly, price two dollars a year; its editors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury; its proprietor, Susan B. Anthony. Let everybody subscribe for it.<sup>43</sup>

So, despite the protests of their associates, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton accepted Train's offer to finance a paper in which they could freely express their views on women's rights. By aligning themselves with Train, they lost many friends, but they were already at odds with abolitionists and with women activists who put the Negro's right to vote ahead of women's suffrage. The name of the paper was shocking to many and it was "received with horror by conservatives."<sup>44</sup>

#### The Revolution Launched

One month after the return of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton to New York, the first issue of The Revolution, dated January 8, 1868, was out. Ten thousand copies of the 16-page weekly were sent to all parts of the country under the frank of a Democratic Congressman from New York.

David Melliss, financial editor of the New York World, joined Train as backer of the paper. And, as promised by Train in Kansas, Parker Pillsbury, formerly with the Antislavery Standard, and Mrs. Stanton were editors. Miss Anthony was the business manager.

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<sup>43</sup> Dorr, p. 197.

<sup>44</sup> Lutz, Created Equal, p. 157.

The Revolution offices were established in the former headquarters of the Equal Rights Association (ERA) on the fourth floor of the New York World building. Miss Anthony had been paying the rent for ERA and despite some objection from ERA members decided she had the right to use the offices. The printer was several blocks away.

Susan B. Anthony had been conditioned to hard work. Hers was seldom the glamorous side of the causes she espoused. She usually had the responsibilities of organizing meetings, arranging for meeting places, posting bills, raising funds--the leg work. It was more of the same with The Revolution. Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury turned out copy, but getting the paper produced, carrying copy up five flights of stairs to the printer, and keeping things rolling were Miss Anthony's responsibility.

### Finances

In addition, Miss Anthony had all the financial burdens of the paper, and they were immense. Her financial "angel," Train, left for England at the time the first issue was published. There he was arrested and jailed because of his Irish sympathies. His editorial contributions to The Revolution arrived from prison, but financial support did not. The \$600 he gave Miss Anthony before he left and the financial assistance she received from Melliss were soon exhausted.<sup>45</sup> Circulation was small, and advertising was difficult to get, especially

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45 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 139.

since The Revolution's policy--carefully outlined in the newspaper--was not to accept advertisements of patent medicines and questionable products.<sup>46</sup>

Subscription efforts. A lively account of Miss Anthony's efforts to solicit subscriptions from the President and members of Congress in Washington appears in the first issue of The Revolution. It is part of a report of a "spicy speech" by Miss Anthony at Rahway, New Jersey:

I waited two hours in the ante-room among the huge half bushel measure spittoons, and terrible filth of the outer chambers, where the smell of tobacco and whiskey was powerful, and I could but mentally enquire if the ante-room of the Empress at the Tuilleries in Paris, or Queen Victoria, two women rulers (applause), were as condescending to their guests as to put up placards at the entrance of Buckingham Palace and the Tuilleries--Gentlemen, Please use the spittoons. (Laughter.) Johnson stood at his desk. Said "No," had a thousand such applications every day; more papers than he could read. I told him he was mistaken. That he never had such an application in his life. You recognize, I said, Mr. Johnson, that Mrs. Stanton and myself, for two years, have boldly told the Republican party that they must give ballots to women as well as Negroes, and by means of The Revolution we are bound to drive the party to logical conclusions, or break it into a thousand pieces as was the old Whig party, unless we get our rights. (Applause.) That brought him to his pocket book, and he signed his name Andrew Johnson, with a bold hand, as much as to say, anything to get rid of this woman and break the radical party. (Loud applause and laughter.)<sup>47</sup>

The Revolution's circulation problems were apparent almost from the first. Every effort was made to sell subscriptions. The first

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<sup>46</sup> The Revolution, Vol. 1, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 4.

issue noted that Congressmen and the President of the United States were among subscribers,<sup>48</sup> and immodestly proclaimed:

Fifty-two Revolutions will make a splendid volume. As all the papers are cut and stitched, all you have to do is to read them and lay them aside to bind at the end of the year. The Revolution will be an important book of reference.<sup>49</sup>

The optimistic note on which the paper was launched held through the early issues while frantic efforts were made by Miss Anthony to sell subscriptions. The opinion leaders of the country--the President, Congress, influential politicians--received personal calls or communication from the publisher. Miss Anthony's efforts at selling subscriptions in the nation's capitol were reported in The Revolution and reprinted in United States and foreign newspapers. Readers were promised that the newspaper would be the "Great Organ of the Age"; they were told subscriptions were payable in advance and that 10 names entitled the sender to one free copy.<sup>50</sup> Ten thousand copies of the first issue were printed. A later issue set a goal of 100,000 subscribers--nothing short of this would ensure success, Miss Anthony wrote.<sup>51</sup>

The price of the publication, \$2 a year, appeared in the date-line of the first issue, along with the volume number, date, and city. By the fourth issue, the single copy price of 10 cents had been added.

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48 The Revolution, p. 8.

49 The Revolution, p. 10.

50 The Revolution, p. 1.

51 The Revolution, April 9, 1868, p. 209.



By the seventh issue, the price had been moved from the datelines to the mast, and "New York City Subscriptions, \$2.50," had been added.

In succeeding issues, Miss Anthony increased her efforts to sell subscriptions. The Revolution carefully explained how to send checks, money orders, and registered letters for subscriptions. By mid-year of 1868, premiums were announced for subscriptions. One hundred subscribers earned the reader a hunting case gold watch; three new subscribers, a copy of REBECCA: OR, A WOMAN'S SECRET, by Mrs. Caroline Fairfield Corbin; three new subscribers, a steel engraving of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Anna E. Dickinson, or Susan B. Anthony.<sup>52</sup> As time went on, additional books and more watches were added as premiums; the number of subscriptions required for premiums was reduced; photos of other women's rights leaders were added to the list; gold sleeve buttons were offered; and Empire sewing machines became the top premium--a plain model for anyone who obtained 50 subscriptions, a fancy machine for 100 subscriptions. Premium offers finally disappeared, but before they did, the list was filling the entire first column of every issue.

Other resources. On July 15, 1869, the price of The Revolution changed from \$2 yearly to \$3 yearly, and from \$2.50 in New York City to \$3.20. In an announcement defending the increase, the publisher

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52 The Revolution, September 17, 1868, p. 161.



stressed the value and quality of the publication:

We are happy to inform our readers that the success of The Revolution has been such as to warrant us in enlisting among our corps of contributors many of the best writers of the country, whose names will shortly appear, and to put our papers on the basis of a first-class literary, as well as reformatory journal. Under these circumstances, we trust that our friends will recognize the necessity of our henceforth advancing the price of The Revolution from two to three dollars a year, which, with these added advantages, and its superior paper, typographical execution and presswork, we still have it the cheapest journal in the country.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the prodigious efforts of Miss Anthony, subscriptions never rose beyond 3,000. Only the generosity of friends and family met the pressing day-by-day financial demands of the paper.

Her sister, Mary, lent all her savings and worked in The Revolution office during her summer vacation in 1869, freeing Susan to attend woman suffrage conventions and to try to build subscriptions for her paper. A wealthy Quaker cousin, Anson Lapham, came to her aid a number of times. All were stop-gap measures, and none solved the financial problems of the paper. For a time a stock company seemed possible, but it did not materialize.

### Editorial Content

Editorially, the paper was vigorous and fearless in its coverage of women's rights issues. On the lively opinion pages, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury discussed suffrage, irrespective of sex or color; equal pay for women for equal work; open schools, colleges

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53 The Revolution, June 24, 1869, p. 385.

and professions; injustices to women; labor problems; eight-hour working days; political developments; the impeachment trial of President Johnson; and in succession, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments. They backed off from nothing, including defense of women they considered victims of the double moral and legal standards. Every encouraging bit of news for women's rights, as well as each discouraging piece that came their way, appeared in The Revolution.

Some of the best-known women writers of the day added their efforts to those of Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury. Among these were Alice and Phoebe Cary, Anna Dickinson, Laura C. Bullard, Lillie Devereux Blake, Paulina Wright Davis, Eleanor Kirk, Olive Logan, Mary Clemmer, and Matilda Joslyn Gage.

#### Press Reaction

Miss Anthony obviously took great pride in the newspaper, and Lutz described her feelings:

She was proud of her paper, proud of its typography, which was far more readable than the average news sheets of the day with their miserably small print. The larger type and less crowded pages were inviting, the articles stimulating.<sup>54</sup>

But Miss Anthony was very concerned about the reaction of the press to The Revolution. Comments about The Revolution by other editors were picked up and reprinted in the newspaper under the heading, "What the Press Says of Us," or "What the Press Is Saying About Us."

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54 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 165.

Detroit Michigan Daily Union - Women are safe. Miss Anthony's baby is born--good looking, bright, intelligent.

Boston Daily and Weekly Voice - "The Revolution."--We welcome with much pleasure the appearance of the first number of this new journal of reform. It is a neatly-printed sixteen-page paper. . . . Its articles are able, radical, timely, varied, and interesting, striking a telling blow upon old error and wrong. . . . Its appearance is an encouraging sign of the time.

Machias (Maine) Republican - . . . handsomely gotten up. It is essentially a woman's rights affair; . . .<sup>55</sup>

While not all comments were complimentary, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton felt compelled to react to the favorable references to their newspaper. Under the heading "What the Press Is Saying About Us," appeared this comment:

The press on all sides is becoming so very complimentary, that we feel more like hiding our faces behind our fans than commenting on their praises of us. So we make a low bow to all these appreciative editors, and beg them, in whatever they write hereafter on this question of Woman's Rights, to be spicy, common-sense and argumentative; for as, we are expected to answer all that is said on this subject, we should like to have meat on the bone given us to pick.<sup>56</sup>

Nevertheless, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton smarted under the neglect of any editor to note the existence of The Revolution. Particularly galling was the continuing snub from Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. In the February 5, 1868, issue of The Revolution they

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55 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 66.

56 The Revolution, p. 66.

noted, "The World takes the lead in an admirable article which we publish with comments. Where is Mr. Greeley?"<sup>57</sup>

### Mounting Problems

In 1869, Miss Anthony moved The Revolution to the first floor of the Women's Bureau at 49 East Twenty-third Street, near Fifth Avenue. George Francis Train had voluntarily severed all connections with The Revolution, and in its new, fashionable setting, Miss Anthony's hopes were high that the newspaper would prosper.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to all her responsibilities with her newspaper, the indefatigable Miss Anthony had continued to work for the National Woman Suffrage Association, travel all over the country to speak on woman suffrage, make trips to Washington to confer with Congressmen, promote women's labor unions, and endlessly circulate petitions against and for Constitutional Amendments. Isabella Beecher Hooker, writing to a friend, said of Miss Anthony, " . . . her energy and executive ability are bounded only by her physical power, which is something immense."<sup>59</sup>

But all of Miss Anthony's energies were not enough to save a sinking newspaper. The debts mounted; and compounding her problems was the announcement of a rival newspaper, the Woman's Journal, to be issued in Boston in January 1870 under the editorship of Lucy Stone,

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57 The Revolution, p. 66.

58 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 160-161.

59 Harper, quoted in Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 167.

leader of the more conservative faction of woman's suffrage and the woman Miss Anthony blamed for the split in the woman's movement. The Agitator, which had planned to merge with The Revolution, joined instead with the Woman's Journal. The wealthy, influential Republicans backing the new paper assured its financial success. The new journal was a blow to Miss Anthony, but she increased her efforts to keep The Revolution alive.

The Revolution editors' inclination to take up the cause of women who were victims of injustices contributed to its reputation as a radical newspaper and may have destroyed the newspaper's best chance for survival.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and her sister, Isabella Beecher Hooker, were about to join the staff as associate editors. Miss Anthony had refused their request to change the name of the paper, but negotiations were continuing. They were terminated, however, because The Revolution editorialized on a scandal which touched the Beecher family. In her biography of Miss Anthony, Dorr wrote:

Anything Hattie Stowe engaged in, anything she wrote, carried a tremendous prestige, and her new novel, which she promised to publish serially in The Revolution, would unquestionably have saved its life.<sup>60</sup>

### "Death Warrant"

With the conservative Woman's Journal gaining in popularity, The Revolution debts mounting, Mr. Pillsbury departing from the staff, and

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60 Dorr, p. 224.

Mrs. Stanton out on the lecture circuit, the future of The Revolution looked bleak.

Mrs. Stanton had been urging Miss Anthony to give up the newspaper and turn to lecturing. But it was not until Miss Anthony was pushed into lecturing in Pennsylvania by Mrs. Stanton's illness, that the proprietor of The Revolution could see herself as a lecturer. Her fee of \$75 for each lecture in Pennsylvania and later fees, which were increased to \$150 in Illinois, paid off \$1,300 of The Revolution's debt. But Parker Pillsbury's help in the office while she lectured was only temporary, and by the time she returned to New York she had decided that she could not continue to carry the excessive financial burden of The Revolution.<sup>61</sup>

On May 22, 1870, "for the consideration of one dollar," she turned the paper over to Clara Burtis Bullard, wealthy heiress of the Dr. Winslow's Soothing Syrup fortune.<sup>62</sup>

"It was like signing my own death warrant," she wrote in her diary, and to a friend she wrote, "I feel a great calm sadness like that of a mother binding out a dear child that she could not support."<sup>63</sup>

Miss Anthony's "child" had taken her deeply into debt. She signed notes for \$10,000, and thousands of words later--from the

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61 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 177-178.

62 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 191.

63 Harper in Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 178.

lecture platform in behalf of women's suffrage--and six years to the month, she recorded in her diary on May 1, 1876, "The day of Jubilee for me has come. I have paid the last dollar of The Revolution debt."<sup>64</sup>

As for The Revolution, it stayed alive for one year under the editorship of Mrs. Bullard and Theodore Tilton, and was taken over then by the Christian Enquirer. It was a different newspaper, " . . . dealing with pleasant topics which offended no one."<sup>65</sup> Mrs. Bullard approached Miss Anthony before the paper died about taking it back. But the ex-proprietor of The Revolution knew that she was no closer than ever to supporting the child she had reluctantly given up.

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<sup>64</sup> Harper in Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 225.

<sup>65</sup> Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 179.

## CHAPTER IV

FORMAT OF THE REVOLUTION

With the exception of type size, The Revolution would be labeled a neat, readable publication even by today's standards. Certainly in comparison with many of the nineteenth century newspapers with their smudged type, fine print, and absence of leading between lines, The Revolution, set in readable, clean type, generously leaded, was a far superior publication. Its attractive appearance was recognized by many contemporary editors, and their complimentary comments were duly noted in The Revolution.

"Neat and attractive in appearance," said the Sunday News; "neatly printed," said the Carlinville, Illinois, Democrat and the Boston Daily and Weekly Voice; "handsomely gotten up," said the Machias Maine, Republican.<sup>66</sup>

" . . . we must give Mrs. [sic] Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, not forgetting Parker Pillsbury, and the celebrated G. F. Train, credit for issuing a paper editorially and typographically the smartest sheet we have seen for a long time."<sup>67</sup>

The typographical accuracy of The Revolution added to its pleasing appearance. The newspaper was almost error-free in typography. The typesetting, and presumably the proofreading, were done by women employees. It was apparent that Miss Anthony intended to prove with

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66 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 66.

67 The Revolution, March 12, 1868, p. 147.



her paper that women typesetters were equal to men and equally capable of producing an attractive newspaper.

Since errors were rare, it was surprising to find that in the dateline of the fourth volume, the volume and issue numbers were reversed. The issue which should have read Volume 4, Number 1, read instead, Volume 1, Number 4.<sup>68</sup> The mistake would not be surprising in today's newspaper, but it was a rare and unusual error for The Revolution to make.

#### Page Makeup

The size of the newspaper, approximately 12 by 8½ inches, was smaller than modern-day tabloids. The nameplate, plain and uncluttered, contained only the word "The Revolution." After the first issue, the motto, "Principle, Not Policy: Justice, Not Favors.--Men, Their Rights and Nothing More: Women, Their Rights and Nothing Less" appeared below the nameplate.

The Revolution was consistently a 16-page publication. Each page was arranged in a three-column format, 14 picas to a column, each column divided by a column rule. Editorials and stories were not crowded on the page. Many of the editorials were lengthy, but the content of most was identified by a simple headline, approximately

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<sup>68</sup> The Revolution, p. 1.

12-point in size. These heads ranged from a single word such as "Kansas"<sup>69</sup> to provocative labels like "Petticoats and Pantaloon, Principles and Prejudices."<sup>70</sup> Extremely long columns of type were sometimes relieved by subheads, but it was not unusual to find two or three pages of solid type. A number of short articles were printed without headlines. Generous spacing and cutoff rules separated these.

While the format of the paper varied from time to time, usually the first column of the first page of each issue contained the mast, sometimes the policy statement, usually information about the cost of the newspaper and premiums for subscriptions, and sometimes information about advertising rates. Significant stories about woman's suffrage or editorials appeared in the second and third columns. Occasionally, however, the lead story started in the first column, with the mast using only three to four inches at the top of the column. In later issues, this condensed masthead pattern was commonly followed.

There were three sections of each issue of The Revolution: The first dealt primarily with women's rights issues and news, the second with business and finance, and the third contained advertising. The content of each was delineated in the policy statement which appeared in the first issue.

### Policy

The Revolution was labeled in the mast, "The organ of the National Party of New America." The editorial policies that the paper

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69 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

70 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.

advocated were concisely expressed in the first issue:

The Revolution will advocate: 1. IN POLITICS--Educated Suffrage, Irrespective of Sex or Color; Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor; Abolition of Standing Armies and Party Despotisms. Down with Politicians--Up with the people! 2. IN RELIGION--Deeper Thought; Broader Idea; Science not Superstition; Personal Purity; Love to Man as well as God. 3. IN SOCIAL LIFE--Morality and Reform; Practical Education, not Theoretical; Facts not Fiction; Virtue not Vice; Cold Water not Alcoholic Drinks or Medicines. It will indulge in no Gross Personalities and Insert no Quack or Immoral Advertisements, so common even in Religious Newspapers.<sup>71</sup>

The financial policy of the paper was listed as a fourth point in the policy of the newspaper. It reflected the philosophy and the wordy style of George Francis Train:

The Revolution proposes a new Commercial and Financial Policy. America no longer led by Europe. Gold like our Cotton and Corn for sale. Greenbacks for money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for American bottoms. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor; and if Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau, cannot they spare One Million to Educate Europe and to keep bright the chain of acquaintance and friendship between those millions and their fatherland?<sup>72</sup>

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71 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

72 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

### Editorial and News Coverage

Editorials were not consistently identified by author. The initials "E.C.S." (Elizabeth Cady Stanton), "P.P." (Parker Pillsbury) and occasionally "S.B.A." (Susan B. Anthony) appeared at the end of some editorials. Other editorials were sometimes initialed by the contributor, but full identification of the author was seldom included. Brief editorial comments about stories in other papers or about women's rights were rarely identified.

News stories were not always the objective accounts of events that today's standards encourage. Editorial comment was, however, easy to identify as the opinion of The Revolution editors. These two examples demonstrate this point:

Mrs. F. E. W. Harper, the eloquent and ladylike, but slightly colored, speaker, of Boston, was put out of the street cars in Richmond, Va., the other night in a severe rain. The dragon of colorphobia dies hard.<sup>73</sup>

A day or two after Mr. Greeley delivered his report against Woman's Suffrage in the New York Constitutional Convention, Mrs. Greeley sent up a petition headed by herself, from the ladies of her town, demanding the ballot. How ungallant you were, Mr. Greeley, not only to your wife, but to the thousands of other fair ladies that followed her example.<sup>74</sup>

Informational stories in The Revolution covered a broad area. There was a series on women as inventors, farmers, physicians, jurors, and machinists. Others dealt with women's health, exercises, clothing, and the care of babies. Another series, glorying in women's

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73 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 172.

74 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 172.

accomplishments, reported what women were doing in the United States and abroad.

Temperance, the use of tobacco, and profanity were topics for articles. News of all workingwomen's associations as well as the working and living conditions of workingwomen was published. Inequality in teachers' pay was frequently the subject of news items. News of women's clubs was regularly reported.

Women's suffrage meetings in every state in which they occurred as well as women's suffrage news from abroad appeared in The Revolution. A Washington newsletter informing readers of what was happening in the nation's capital appeared regularly. Additional articles identified and eulogized candidates who supported women's rights and castigated those who did not.

No matter how significant or insignificant the topic, the editors of The Revolution succeeded in giving stories a slant that related them to women's suffrage or women's rights. If nothing else, they commented that injustices and sordid behavior--at least what they saw as injustices and sordid behavior--would disappear once women had the ballot.

Until relations with George Francis Train were severed, his letters, editorials, and news contributions appeared frequently, both in the editorial section of the newspaper and in his own domain, the financial section. The Revolution also faithfully reported Train's whereabouts and activities.

Some frivolous topics also received attention in The Revolution. Chewing gum, pet names, wife swapping, double beds, cooperative house-keeping, and orange marmalade were among these.

A feature added to The Revolution by the end of the first year was the serialization of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women. This was followed by Eleanor Kirk's Up Broadway and Alice Cary's Born Thrall or Woman's Life and Experience.

From the first, poetry occasionally appeared in the newspaper, and in the last volume one or two pages of poetry appeared in most issues.

A literary column contained book and magazine reviews, frequently with encouragement for readers to purchase or subscribe.

Among the most lively of the paper's editorial coverage were the sections entitled "What the Press Says of Us" and "What the People Say to Us." The Revolution looked for favorable notices in the press, but it was also alert to those which ridiculed women's rights or women's suffrage. One, two, or three pages of each issue were devoted to press notices of The Revolution, many of which were followed by The Revolution's reaction to the notice.

"What the People Say to Us" was an open forum section which printed letters from readers. Many of these criticized The Revolution for being too radical, for treating the sacredness of marriage too lightly, and for not placing women's suffrage second to the Negroes' enfranchisement. Far more were favorable than critical. Many were unsigned. One writer commented that thoughts should have admission



anywhere without name attached, and commended The Revolution for not demanding the name of correspondents.

The status of women in the nineteenth century makes Miss Anthony's reasons for not demanding signatures quite obvious. Many women were not sufficiently liberated to have the courage to--or they dared not--criticize their husband openly, and especially for print.

The Revolution, as has been noted, jumped fearlessly into the controversy over two celebrated criminal cases of the day, both involving women. There was no question as to their editorial position in these cases (see pp. 67-70). For the most part, however, "hard" news stories and day-to-day news events were not reported in the newspaper.

#### Financial Section

Everything promised in the policy statement of The Revolution under financial and commercial categories was delivered in a colorful, extreme style.

Provocative titles drew the reader into many of the articles written by George Francis Train and David M. Melliss of the New York World. "How the British Credit System Swindles America,"<sup>75</sup> "Stealing As a 'Fine Art'--Congressional Land Jobs,"<sup>76</sup> and "High Art Swindling of the Wall Street Cliques"<sup>77</sup> were typical headlines.

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75 The Revolution, May 29, 1868, p. 331.

76 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 396.

77 The Revolution, September 10, 1868, p. 157.

Melliss' column "Talk Among the Brokers in Wall Street" was a gossip column. Much of its content would be considered libelous today. Typical is this excerpt in the style in which it was printed:

The talk among the brokers is that . . .

HENRY KEEP

is going to give

A MILLION DOLLARS

to found an institution for the poor  
of New York city, providing that

HE CAN MAKE FIVE MILLION

by sticking all his friends and the public  
with the

NORTHWEST SHARES AT HIGH PRICES.<sup>78</sup>

Legal tender paper money, penny ocean postage, the purchase of American goods only, the encouragement of immigration to settle the country, and the establishment of the French financing systems to develop our mines and railroads were among the favorite topics of Train and Melliss.

#### Advertising Section

Usually the last two or three pages of The Revolution contained advertisements. Occasionally, advertising dropped to one page or even one column of a page--occasions which were undoubtedly agonizing for a publisher who was having financial difficulties. The strict standards Miss Anthony imposed on The Revolution advertisers and the limited circulation of the newspaper affected the amount of advertisements in the newspaper. Only advertisements of products Miss Anthony could recommend were accepted. Patent medicines and other questionable

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<sup>78</sup> The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 88.



products were ruled out. Silverwares, watches, books, stationery, musical instruments, household furniture, scissors, and sewing machines were among the acceptable products. Although Miss Anthony advocated more freedom in women's clothing styles, she did accept advertising of current fashions from women's dress suppliers and pattern companies. A full-page ad for Butterick patterns appearing in an 1859 issue was unusual from the standpoint of size and number of illustrations. Most ads were one to four or five inches; a few were full column or more than half a column. Most were without any kind of illustration.

Advertising, compared with that of many of the publications of that time, was restrained, dignified, and in refined taste.

#### Newspaper Carriers

The New York edition of The Revolution was carried by girls "dressed in red and green caps and skirts, a costume furnished by Madame Demorest at twenty-five dollars the suit," according to the Brooklyn Daily Times of that day. The Times, quoted in The Revolution, added that the "Revolutionists" were "strong-minded" and insisted on these uniforms. "That's the woman of it," they commented. The sharp response from The Revolution editors followed:

That is the humanity of it! It would be well for all the city journals to follow our example. Manifest some interest in the ragged, dirty, half-starved boys who sell your papers daily. Have them washed, hair cut, well shod, gaily dressed, you will add to their self-respect, ornament our streets and increase the sale of your papers. We have heard enough of dirty streets, dirty boys, dirty curs, "the man of it" everywhere, and now comes The Revolution."79

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79 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 183.

## CHAPTER V

THEMES OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS TREATED IN THE REVOLUTION

The two women involved with The Revolution were early feminists whose concern was with the status of women in America and in all of society.

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton were part of a group of reformers who objected to the inequalities women encountered in every facet of their lives. They advocated equal opportunities for women in education and employment; equal rights under the law; equal social and moral codes. While they joined abolitionists speaking and writing for the end of slavery, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton--unlike many of their feminist friends--refused during and following the Civil War to lay aside their demands for women and to place the black man's rights of citizenship and suffrage ahead of women's rights.

By the time the two were given the opportunity to start The Revolution, their thinking on women's rights had crystallized. They were convinced that the way to achieve equality for women was through the ballot. Their interest in women's rights was as keen as ever, but they were firmly convinced that suffrage was the key. The Revolution provided a perfect vehicle for their dual advocacy of women's rights and women's suffrage.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Miss Anthony carried this conviction to the grave, but Mrs. Stanton came to believe that religious fear and superstition kept women subservient. She wrote Clara Colby " . . . I cannot work in the old

The male editor, Parker Pillsbury, a staunch supporter of both the women's movement and the antislavery movement, had resigned his post as editor of the Antislavery Standard in protest of the publication's opposition to women's suffrage. He was one of only a handful of men in the antislavery ranks who, at that time, were willing to support Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton in their campaign for the ballot.

Most abolitionists felt that women should step into the background and wait quietly for their turn in the suffrage "grab bag," a turn that would come after the black man's enfranchisement.

The first issue of The Revolution, January 8, 1868, carried the policy statement of the paper, and in the opening editorial and news articles established the overriding theme of the newspaper--women's suffrage.

In the first article, Elizabeth Cady Stanton hailed Kansas for recording 9,000 votes, one-third of the entire vote, in favor of women's suffrage. She lavishly praised the state as a leader in legislation for women on questions of property, education, wages, marriage, and divorce. She took the opportunity, too, to chide those who she thought had failed to support the cause of women's suffrage--eastern journalists who were silent on the question, abolitionists who feared the demand for women's suffrage would defeat Negro suffrage, and black men who were stumping the state against women's suffrage.

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...ruts any longer. I have said all I have to say on the subject of suffrage" (Lutz, Created Equal, p. 297). In 1895 she published Volume 1 of The Woman's Bible, written to make women question theological doctrines derogatory to them.

The second article on the first page under the heading "The Ballot--Bread, Virtue, Power" expressed what Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony planned for The Revolution.

The Revolution will contain a series of articles, beginning next week, to prove the power of the ballot in elevating the character and condition of woman. We shall show that the ballot will secure for woman equal place and equal wages in the world of work; that it will open to her the schools, colleges, professions and all the opportunities and advantages of life; that in her hand it will be a moral power to stay the tide of vice and crime and misery on every side.

. . . Thus, too, shall we purge our constitutions and statute laws from all invidious distinctions among the citizens of the States, and secure the same civil and moral code for man and woman. We will show the hundred thousand female teachers, and the millions of laboring women, that their complaints, petitions, strikes and protective unions are of no avail until they hold the ballot in their own hands; for it is the first step toward social, religious and political equality.<sup>81</sup>

While The Revolution advocated woman's suffrage as a cure for all inequalities women experienced, it did a great deal more.

### Religious Rights

Mrs. Stanton attacked the subject of religion with gusto in an early issue. Replying to a letter from a reader asking if the editors felt that the Sixteenth verse of Genesis, Third Chapter ("And thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.") was properly translated, she replied:

Remember man translated the Bible in harmony with his own ideas. As we read that best of Books, it is in favor of the most enlarged freedom from Genesis to Revelation. We shall give the whole Bible argument in favor of Woman's Equality soon, in a series of articles, in which we shall show that it

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81 The Revolution, January 8, 1968, p. 1.

is wholly on our side of the question. When women and lions write history, we shall have a new version of man's true position and exploits.<sup>82</sup>

One of the arguments used by anti-feminists was that subjugation of women was divinely ordained by the Bible. Mrs. Stanton challenged this in The Revolution as she had when she read the Declaration of Sentiments at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, listing among the "usurpations on the part of man toward woman":

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.<sup>83</sup>

George Francis Train commented on the question of religion in one of his letters from Dublin, Ireland, printed in The Revolution.

"Why should we not pray to our mother who art in heaven, as well, as to our father?" he asked.<sup>84</sup>

Miss Anthony's religious convictions were not as strong as those of Mrs. Stanton. Lutz, in her biography of Mrs. Stanton, suggested a reason for this.

Religion presented no problem to Susan. Brought up as a liberal Quaker, she had little to unlearn when she began to test her religious beliefs with her intelligence. Her church more than any other accorded women equal rights, an opportunity to preach, and a voice in the government. The shadow of theological dogma had not fallen across her life.<sup>85</sup>

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82 The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 67.

83 History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 1, p. 71.

84 The Revolution, December 3, 1868.

85 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 296.

Fallacies. Mrs. Stanton, distressed by the religious persecution of women, was eager to present the case for women and in the February 26, 1868, issue of The Revolution, wrote what presumably was the first of the articles she had promised her readers. Under the title, "Strong-minded Women of the Bible," she pointed out that there were many examples of women "called to fill positions involving large responsibilities both in civil and ecclesiastical history." Her editorial was probably intended as a refutation of the teaching of the church that women were inferior beings.<sup>86</sup>

In the February 5, 1868, issue, the ordination of a woman as pastor of a Massachusetts Universalist church was noted:

The Universalists are espousing the cause of Woman's Rights and Wrongs with great apparent good will. One season [sic] may be that they have already a number of talented and excellent women enrolled in their ministry, who are practically demonstrating the question of their fitness to hold any place assigned to moral and intelligent beings.<sup>87</sup>

In the March 19, 1868, issue, under the title "Church Suffrage for Women," Parker Pillsbury wrote:

The religious press is reporting the tempest of discussion in the churches and among the clergy, as to the right of woman to any voice in church affairs. In the Congregational Church even, the tendency is still towards despotism. Christ and the New Testament were tolerably explicit on the question of human distinctions. But it was a great while ago. There were to be no "Greeks nor Jews, bond nor free, male nor female, but all

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<sup>86</sup> In the last decade of her life, Mrs. Stanton dropped out of the campaign for woman suffrage. Her efforts were devoted to the two volumes of The Woman's Bible, in which she intended to free women from the man-made fallacies in religion in regard to the inferior position of women (Lutz, Created Equal, pp. 295-307).

<sup>87</sup> The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 75.



one." Somehow the church now-a-days don't [sic] see it. The pulpit don't [sic] see it. One or two churches have abolished the distinction between male and female, and the rest are quite by the ears about it.<sup>88</sup>

Gains. Typical of the not so subtle attack in The Revolution pages on women's subservient position in the church is the account of a Methodist minister whose daughter noted a reference in the Bible to four women who preached. The Revolution account said that the minister tried to correct his daughter, but, perceiving his error when the daughter pointed out that the word "preach" had been mistranslated from Greek as "prophecy [sic]," declared, "I shall never speak against women's preaching any more."<sup>89</sup>

Referring to a story taken from the Boston Christian Register, The Revolution noted that a ministers' convention had congratulated a woman on her ordination to the ministry; but The Revolution offered this reassurance from a church spokesman:

We have no fear of a revolution in the delicate characteristics of woman's nature by education and advancement to positions now occupied by men. By her sudden elevation to higher privileges and more public duties, our race has thus far lost nothing in numbers and vigor, our country nothing in order and well-being, our homes nothing of domestic beauty and sanctity. Woman will always prefer to work in the less conspicuous office of the Christian ministry. She will never lose her femininity. But whenever and wherever she shall exhibit such qualifications as shall not render her ministrations acceptable but create a demand for them, we shall welcome her to the pulpit. And to this end we hope that the obstacles of prejudice and regulations will be removed, so that she may freely enjoy the educational privileges of our theological

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88 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 162.

89 The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 166.

schools. The ordination of Mrs. Hanaford is but the beginning of a new movement, the end of which will be the opening of the pulpit doors to female preachers.<sup>90</sup>

The Revolution also noted that the Universalist pastor, Olympia Brown, had been offered \$1,000 and expenses to devote a year to lecturing upon the enfranchisement of women. The editorial comment was, "She has done a good work in Weymouth, and proved that a woman can be successful as a minister."<sup>91</sup>

The reasoning behind some of the items in The Revolution was somewhat obscure. This example appeared in an early issue.

Rev. Miss Chapin--Another lady Divine is reported. A writer from Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, tells a pleasant story of a lady minister there, Rev. Miss Chapin, formerly of Michigan. He says she is about 28 years of age, medium height, has a large development of chest, round throat, florid complexion. Her head is large, and eminently developed in the anterior and coronal. In a clear and well modulated voice she read the hymn. Her prayer was short and earnest. She discoursed on the immorality of the soul. She was logical, and a more finished elocution and grace of diction I have not heard in any western church.<sup>92</sup>

In the April 9, 1868, issue, The Revolution exulted in the Methodist Church's giving the right to vote to women in all church affairs, and reported on an election for three trustees at a New York church. "The ladies claim a great victory," the article reported, "as Mr. Reed [the defeated candidate] was the champion of the opponents of female suffrage . . ."<sup>93</sup>

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90 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 186.

91 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 188.

92 The Revolution, March 26, 1868, p. 189.

93 The Revolution, April 9, 1868, p. 209.



Small and large victories continued to be noted--a Congregation-  
al church of Harlem opening all offices to women, a female preacher  
drawing crowds in Wisconsin, the continued success of the Rev. Mrs.  
Hanaford as a preacher, the suggestion by deacons of Plymouth Church  
that some deaconesses might be installed, and a notice that five  
deaconesses had been ordained in the First Presbyterian Church in  
Philadelphia.

The philosophy of the newspaper was neatly expressed in a July  
9, 1868, article on women's suffrage in the church: " . . . we lose  
no opportunity of registering in The Revolution every sign of advance,  
however slight, in the right direction."<sup>94</sup> And so the editors did and  
continued to do as long as they edited The Revolution.

### Educational Rights

The policy statement of The Revolution included Educated Suf-  
frage, but the matter of equality in educational opportunities was not  
specifically enumerated; and it was not treated as elaborately as many  
other rights by The Revolution editors.

Short items about equal education were printed sporadically in  
The Revolution, sometimes followed by editorial comment. In the  
October 15, 1868, issue, a short account of hazing as practiced in  
New England colleges was printed. Following it was a typical comment,

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<sup>94</sup> The Revolution, July 9, 1868, p. 11.

"When young women are permitted a place in the colleges, the end of such brutalities will cease."<sup>95</sup>

In the same issue, the president of the University of Michigan, supporting admission of women to the University, was reported as saying:

I have come to this conclusion slowly--The standard of education would not be changed. The habits of study would not be affected. The honor of the University would be rather increased than diminished.<sup>96</sup>

A Williams College professor supported coeducation, The Revolution reported, but a Cornell professor was quoted as uncertain that the association of the sexes in education would be an advantage either to society or the country at large.<sup>97</sup>

Mrs. Stanton devoted an editorial to equality in education in the August 13, 1868, issue. Referring to a discussion at The Revolution on the advantage of educating the sexes together, she mentioned that the Agricultural College in Kansas was open to boys and girls alike and suggested that the New York legislature consider opening Cornell to girls. In the editorial she shrewdly answered objections to coeducation:

The two stereotyped objections of most of our opponents are: 1st. Boys are too coarse and too vulgar in college life for the association of girls. 2d. Girls are so fascinating that boys could not study in their company. To the first objection we say,

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95 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 236.

96 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 236.

97 The Revolution, August 27, 1868, p. 314; November 19, 1868, p. 314.

that if such be the condition of our colleges, it is all important that every boy should take his sister with him as a means of protection from such gross associations. When in California and Oregon, society being chiefly male, was rapidly tending to savageism, ship-loads of women went out, and order and decency were restored to life. Remember, the young men who crowd these colleges are to be the companions, the future husbands of our pure, refined daughters. . . .

If your daughters cannot stand by the dissecting-table with young men to study the wonders of the nervous system and the circulation of the blood, without danger of rude comments, how can they marry such men without danger of being dragged down into their material atmosphere? . . . .

As to the second objection. If the sexes were educated together we should have the healthy, moral and intellectual stimulus of sex ever quickening and refining all the faculties, without the undue excitement of sense that results from novelty in the present system of isolation.<sup>98</sup>

Fussing at the London Times on the subject of education in the September 24, 1868, issue, Mrs. Stanton wrote:

But the Times is especially troubled at the idea of educating the sexes together! One would suppose, Mr. Editor, you had passed your days in Turkey or China, where women are shut up in palaces and harems, never permitted to talk, walk, or dance, with men, nor to see them even, without masks and veils. The danger of the sexes reading Greek together, or meeting at the black-board to solve a grometrical [sic] problem, might be startling in those countries, but in America and England, where men and women meet everywhere, at the balls, the operas, and the church, on Broadway and Regent street, in our parks, railroads, steamboats, on the throne, in the halls of legislation, in "The British Association for the Advancement of Science," in political meetings, both as speakers and hearers, it is no great step to open all the school and colleges in the land to girls.<sup>99</sup>

The Revolution serialized Mary Wollstonecraft's The Rights of Women. Miss Wollstonecraft dwelt at great length on inequality in educational opportunities as a cause of the subordination of women.

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98 The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 81.

99 The Revolution, September 24, 1868, p. 177.

In later issues more space was given to coeducation in colleges, but aside from this, rights in regard to equal education were mentioned incidentally, usually in articles supporting other rights and as a basic premise of women's rights.

### Working Rights

"Equal pay to women for equal work; eight hours labor" were advocated in the policy statement of The Revolution.<sup>100</sup> These rights were dear to the editors of The Revolution, and particularly to the proprietor, Susan B. Anthony. A report in the August 20, 1868, issue placed women's working rights above all others in The Revolution.

The New York Atlas said, last week, that there are 30,000 women in this city who labor night and day for a pittance upon which no tenderhearted philanthropist would attempt to support a favorite cat; yet in all the progressive movements of the day, and all the revolutionary agitations touching the so-called rights of women, no one attempts to ameliorate the condition of these poor slaves of the needle. The Atlas, with the very best of intentions no doubt, could not have been more mistaken. The Revolution was instituted pre-eminently for that very object. It exists for the one specific purpose, more than any other, of ameliorating the condition of working women.<sup>101</sup>

Organization of workingwomen. Miss Anthony viewed the ballot as the answer to women's low wages, long hours, miserable working conditions, and narrow job opportunities. Considerable space in The Revolution was given to announcements of upcoming workingwomen's meetings or reports of meetings which had occurred. Some of these

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100 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

101 The Revolution, August 20, 1868, p. 105.

reports revealed, however, the reluctance of workingwomen to embrace women's suffrage. Much in the manner of the abolitionists, some members of the Workingwomen's Association rejected women's suffrage because they believed the unpopularity of the issue would reflect unfavorably on the demands for equal rights in labor.

In an early issue, Miss Anthony called a group of workingwomen together to form a workingwomen's association. The women, primarily members of the printing trade, elected Miss Anthony their delegate to the National Labor Congress meeting in New York. She also persuaded the women in the sewing trade to organize in time for the National Labor Congress.

The Revolution's account of the National Labor Congress contained this resolution:

Resolved, that the low wages, long hours and damaging service to which workingwomen are doomed, destroy health, imperil virtue, and are a standing reproach to civilization--that we urge them to learn trades, engage in business, join our labor unions, or form protective unions of their own, secure the ballot, and use every other honorable means to persuade or force employers to do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work.<sup>102</sup>

The Revolution story went on to say that when one of the delegates objected to the phrase "secure the ballot," Miss Anthony strongly defended it. Still it was stricken from the resolution. During discussion, one delegate was quoted (in The Revolution account) as saying:

I know when I was sent here it was not to indorse the Woman's Suffrage question. How can I go back to my society

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102 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 199.

and tell them I voted for Woman's Suffrage. None of the delegates can go back and be sustained in such action.<sup>103</sup>

Education of workingwomen. Miss Anthony realized that not all women were prepared for the "equality" she wanted for them. Lutz, reflecting on the newspaper's efforts to upgrade women, said, "The Revolution continually spurred women on to improve themselves, to learn new skills, and actually to do equal work if they expected equal pay."<sup>104</sup> Typical is this exhortation in the February 11, 1869, issue, initialed "S.B.A.":

One word to women who propose to learn type-setting. It now looks as if the employers of the city would open their offices to the education of young women. If they should, it will of course do away with the necessity of the "Training School for Girls." The four things indispensable to a compositor, are quickness of movement, good spelling, correct punctuation, and brains enough to take in the idea of the article to be set up. Therefore, let no young women think of learning the trade until she is assured of these requisites. Without these first elements there will be nothing but hard work and small pay. Yes, and another thing, make up your mind to take the "lean" with the "fat," and be early and late at the case precisely as the men are. If you allow yourselves to be "petted" you must content yourselves with half pay. I do not demand equal pay for any women save those who do equal work in value. Scorn to be "petted" by your employers; make them understand you are in their service as workers not as WOMEN; and that you will accept nothing less nor more because of your sex.<sup>105</sup>

The training school for type-setting and other schools to prepare women for jobs were frequently referred to and encouraged by The Revolution. And--as in every other area of women's rights--The

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103 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 200.

104 Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, p. 152.

105 The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 90.

Revolution reported minor victories in achieving equal pay or opportunity for women. A story on the Working Women's Association noted:

From the best evidence your committee has been able to gather, the number of rag-pickers in New York City is about 1,200 of all grades, a little more than half being women. This is the only business, we believe, where women have equal opportunities with men.<sup>106</sup>

Another article reported:

The workingmen of Boston had a grand demonstration recently in Faneuil Hall, at which among other resolutions the following was adopted: Resolved that . . . city government shall pay women employees as much as men for the same quality and quantity of service. . . .<sup>107</sup>

Press reaction. Although the editors of The Revolution welcomed the support of other publications in regard to women's rights, they bristled at the backhand compliment of the New York Herald when it commended Miss Anthony and Miss Anna Dickinson on their efforts for workingwomen.

Miss Susan B. Anthony and Miss Anna Dickinson may have found their true mission--after long pilgrimages through Women's Rights absurdities, hunting after Female Suffrage--in taking up the cause of woman's rights to obtain a fair recognition of her labor and the extension of those various classes of employment for which women can be made useful. Such objects are not only legitimate, but commendable, and it is to be hoped that the Working Women's Central Association will put all women's rights spouting conventions into the background.<sup>108</sup>

The sharp reply following the above article read:

The proscribed classes, at least in this country, have the right of moral agitation and free discussion, which they do not

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106 The Revolution, December 31, 1868, p. 406.

107 The Revolution, December 31, 1868, p. 411.

108 The Revolution, November 12, 1868, p. 299.



propose to surrender at the behest of newspaper Editors--or any other department of the white male citizenship.<sup>109</sup>

In answer to an article appearing in the New York Times, stating, "The proper condition for a woman in all civilized countries is undoubtedly that of dependence upon somebody else for support [men]."

The Revolution responded:

The New York Times has got so far. Really it is not a great advance to have made late in the afternoon of the nineteenth century. Woman can hardly feel complimented or honored by such a presentation of her "natural" feebleness, helplessness and worthlessness.<sup>110</sup>

Inequality in the pay of men and women was frequently noted, as in the following story:

New Hampshire is not behind her sister states in magnanimity, but the amount of school money raised by taxation last year was \$282,606, an average of \$3.60 per scholar. The monthly wages of men teachers average \$34, and those of women \$16, which would be a disgrace to any state, and is to her.<sup>111</sup>

There is ample evidence in the pages of The Revolution that few opportunities were missed by the editors or the publisher to "sell" themselves. Every compliment that reached the ears of those involved or was contributed must have been shared with readers.

"Back Patting." The Revolution, reporting the New England labor convention as a "glorious success from the first hour to the

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109 The Revolution; November 12, 1868, p. 299.

110 The Revolution, February 25, 1869, p. 120.

111 The Revolution, February 18, 1869, p. 108.



last," included a sentence which "fell from the lips of a laboring man":

The Revolution is the best advocate of the working men in the world, and if the masses will take it and read it for one year, a power will be raised up that will revolutionize the whole world.<sup>112</sup>

Eleanor Kirk, a well-known author and contributor to The Revolution, wrote about Miss Anthony in one issue:

Now, I maintain, in the very first place, that this whole talk about the unfeasible or impossible, is the sheerest nonsense. Take, for instance, the "Working Woman's Association," and we shall see that the cause of its prominence, its success, and the general interest which the public are now manifesting, can be directly traced to the efforts of one woman, Miss Susan B. Anthony, who, regardless of sneers, impervious to all assaults from opposers or lukewarm friends (and these warm milk and water folks are dreadful pests), steer the bark Project safely into port; where it is now receiving cargo for a life voyage. Now this Association demands the attention of all womankind; and I am glad that it can show so good a record at this early stage for its formation.<sup>113</sup>

In an October, 1868, issue, The Revolution noted:

The Office of The Revolution is becoming the Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty" to woman's struggle for Freedom and Independence. Meetings are held night after night at which Unions and other associations and organizations are formed for prosecuting measures offensive, defensive and protective to secure the sublime result.<sup>114</sup>

There followed an account of a meeting of the Workingwomen's Association No. 1 in The Revolution office, with Miss Anthony quoted:

Girls, you must take this matter to heart seriously now, for you have established a union, and for the first time in

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<sup>112</sup> The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 84.

<sup>113</sup> The Revolution, November 26, 1868, p. 326.

<sup>114</sup> The Resolution, October 15, 1868, p. 231.

woman's history in the United States you are placed, and by your own efforts, on a level with men, as far as possible, to obtain wages for your labor. I need not say that you have taken a great, a momentous step forward in the path to success. Keep at it now girls, and you will achieve full and plenteous success. (Applause.)<sup>115</sup>

With a blend of wheedling, pushing, and praise, Miss Anthony brought "her girls" along. On the first page of the October 29, 1868, issue she wrote:

It is no longer a doubt as to whether women are competent to learn and carry on the business of printing. They not only set type admirably, as in our own office, but they perform all the work of publishing, editing and printing newspapers and other important works. Who shall say that this one success is not worth all the woman's rights enterprise has hitherto cost! And yet this is but one of many, and not one of the most important either. The Revolution itself is alone a triumph.<sup>116</sup>

#### Social and Legal Rights

"Whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do," Sarah Grimke wrote in 1838.<sup>117</sup>

Lucy Stone in her 1855 marriage to Henry Blackwell drew considerable attention by retaining her own name and by signing a pact with her husband which gave her certain equal rights which the law did not provide.

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<sup>115</sup> The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 231.

<sup>116</sup> The Revolution, October 29, 1868, p. 257.

<sup>117</sup> Sinclair, p. 45. Quoted from "The Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women" (Boston, 1838), a pamphlet containing articles which originally appeared as a series in the New England Spectator, p. 122.

Marriage and divorce. Marriage and divorce were major concerns of feminists and they received frequent editorial treatment in The Revolution, usually from the pen of Mrs. Stanton or Eleanor Kirk.

Writing in June of 1868 Eleanor Kirk had "A Word To Abused Wives":

Let the marriage question alone, did you say, and wait for female suffrage to unsnarl the skein . . .? Why is it that from the very commencement, so much more has been required of women than men? Who can tell? Who ordained that man can violate every marriage obligation--drink, abuse, and then be obeyed?

. . . Suppose, for a moment, that in some place, could be gathered the wretched life above described, and Miss Anthony were called upon to address them, would not her eyes fill with tears, and her sympathetic heart throb painfully at the sight before her? Think you she would say "wait?" No; I know better, "Deliver yourselves from your oppressors; show that you have the ability and courage to leave such barbarians to their own darkness and infamy!" That's the way she would put it, I know; and "wait" would be as far from her tongue as double dealing is from her soul.

Wake up! don't wait for anybody or anything, for any new movement or philanthropic action on the part of society. Remember: "Each for herself: and justice for all!"<sup>118</sup>

Also from Eleanor Kirk these two excerpts from editorials:

Marriage is for life . . . , when circumstances do not render it a sin to live together as husband and wife. If a woman finds she has made a mistake in her marital relations and instead of the man she supposes she has wedded, finds a brute and a rascal, it then becomes her bounden duty to make tracks just as fast as she can.<sup>119</sup>

. . . What do you think of a man, who will not allow his wife to read The Revolution, or any other book or journal he does not approve? A man who is looked up to by a certain

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118 The Revolution, June 18, 1868, pp. 381-382.

119 The Revolution, August 27, 1868, p. 117.

set as an exponent of principles, a rabid churchman, and a strict disciplinarian!<sup>120</sup>

In three consecutive issues in October, 1868, Mrs. Stanton gave marriage and divorce lengthy attention.

Under the heading, "Marriages and Mistresses," she discussed the marriage contract:

With the following summary of the laws on marriage and divorce, we have no doubt, the women of the republic, will be equally shocked, and all will readily see that whatever the "social position" of a "mistress" may be, the "legal position" of a wife is more dependent and degrading than any other condition of womanhood can possibly be. Why a contract for the mutual happiness of two parties should be made so hopeless and insulting to one is difficult to discover.<sup>121</sup>

With feminist logic and her customary zeal, Mrs. Stanton continued, "It must strike every careful thinker that an immense difference rests in the fact, that man has made the laws." Man gave up nothing, while the legal existence of woman was suspended, she said. Woman was "nameless, purseless, childless: though a woman, an heiress, and a mother."

As for divorce, the law was "as unequal as those on marriage; yes, far more so. The advantages seem to be all on one side, and the penalties on the other."<sup>122</sup>

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120 The Revolution, October 29, 1868, p. 261.

121 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 233.

122 The Revolution, October 15, 1868, p. 233.

An editorial by Mrs. Stanton, on October 22, 1868, contained this dramatic plea:

Fathers! do you say, let your daughters pay a life-long penalty for one unfortunate step? . . . How could they foresee that the young man, to-day, so noble, so generous, would, in a few short years, be transformed into a cowardly, mean tyrant, or a foul-mouthed, bloated drunkard?<sup>123</sup>

Referring to the "man-marriage," under the title "Marriage and Divorce," Mrs. Stanton wrote in the October 29, 1868, issue:

Why is it that all contracts, covenants, agreements and partnerships are left wholly at the discretion of the parties, except that which, of all others, is considered most holy and important, both for the individual and the race?

But, say some, what a condition we should soon have in social life, with no restrictive laws. We ask you, what have we now? Separation and divorce cases in all our courts; men disposing of their wives in every possible way; by neglect, cruelty, tyranny, excess, poison, and imprisonment in insane asylums. We would give the parties greater latitude, rather than drive either to extreme measures, or crime. . . . Woman loses infinitely more than she gains by the kind of protection now imposed. . . . In this state are over forty thousand drunkards' wives, . . . Thousands of sad mothers, . . . They ask nothing, but a quit-claim deed to themselves.

Thus far, we have had the man-marriage, and nothing more. From the beginning, man has had the whole and sole regulation of the matter. He has spoken in Scripture and he has spoken in law. As an individual, he has decided the time and cause for putting away a wife; and as a judge and legislator, he still holds the entire control. In all history, sacred and profane, woman is regarded and spoken of, simply, as the toy of man. She is taken or put away, given or received, bought or sold, just as the interests of the parties might dictate. . . . The right of woman to put away a husband, be he ever so impure, is never hinted at, even in sacred history.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> The Revolution, October 22, 1868, p. 250.

<sup>124</sup> The Revolution, October 29, 1868, pp. 264-265.

Working mothers. Occasionally The Revolution, pointing out that the children of "strong-minded" women were well cared for, discussed the working mother. An article by Julia Crouch, one of the contributors to the newspaper, reflects the editorial stance of The Revolution:

Was there ever anything that so stuck in the throats of the enemies of Woman's Rights as the Babies? "But the babies! who'll take care of the babies? what will be done with the babies?" is repeated by them over and over again with distended nostrils and eyes wild with apprehension. Don't be frightened, my poor deluded, but answer me. Who took care of Queen Victoria's babies of whom there were quite a number? . . . I don't see but the babies of Harriet B. Stowe, Lucy Stone, Elizabeth C. Stanton and Frances D. Gage have fared as well as any babies, and they surely have cause to be proud of their mothers. Why, babies are not at all in the way of Woman Suffrage, but rather their existence is a great reason why their mothers should have a right to assist in making the laws that these little ones must grow up under and obey. . . . Now, my conservative friends, don't let the babies frighten you. What they most need are noble mothers with cultivated minds of their own, and the ballot in their hands, then the dainty creatures will grow into noble men and women.<sup>125</sup>

Infanticide and prostitution. Infanticide was a subject which also received considerable attention in The Revolution. The celebrated case of Hester Vaughn, a young Englishwoman, was taken up by the editors of the paper. This account, followed by Mrs. Stanton's comment, appeared after the trial:

Judge Ludlow, of Philadelphia, in pronouncing a death sentence on a poor, ignorant, friendless and forlorn girl who had killed her newborn child because she knew not what else to do with it, addressed her thus:

. . . . .  
That Hester Vaughn, the prisoner at the bar, be taken from hence to the jail of the County of Philadelphia from

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125 The Revolution, October 29, 1868, pp. 267-268.

whence she came, and that she be there hanged by the neck until she is dead. And may God have mercy upon her soul.

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If that poor child of sorrow is hung, it will be deliberate, downright murder. Her death will be a far more horrible infanticide than was the killing of her child. She is the child of our society and civilization, begotten and born of it, seduced by it, by the judge who pronounced her sentence, by the bar and jury, by the legislature that enacted the law (in which, because a woman, she had no vote or voice), by the church and the pulpit that sanctify the law and the deeds, of all these will her blood, yea and her virtue too, be required! All these were the joint seducer, and now see if by hanging her, they will also become her murderer.<sup>126</sup>

Mrs. Stanton continued to editorialize on the Hester Vaughn case. She reported a visit to the Governor of Pennsylvania and to the prison cell of the doomed woman. This was followed by a lengthy account of Working Women's Association petition for the pardon and release of Hester Vaughn and their visit to the Governor and to the prisoner. Parker Pillsbury editorialized on the subject, taking Horace Greeley to account for Mr. Greeley's editorial position.<sup>127</sup> Eleanor Kirk impatiently attacked Governor Greary:

Hester Vaughan [sic] still looks out between the bars of Moyamensing; . . . and Gov. Geary sits calmly in his Gubernatorial chair, running his white fingers through his royal beard, calculating the chances of a second term. A vision of Hester Vaughan [sic], alone, with rats and roaches, may occasionally obtrude itself, but then Pennsylvania says it's all right, and Pennsylvania is his mistress just about this time, and Hester is only a woman.<sup>128</sup>

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126 The Revolution, August 6, 1868, p. 74.

127 The Revolution, December 10, 1868, p. 361.

128 The Revolution, January 21, 1869, p. 35.

The Governor finally pardoned Hester Vaughn. It is probable that The Revolution played a role in the eventual pardon--how great would be difficult to judge, but it was obvious that the editorial treatment of the case strengthened The Revolution's reputation as a radical newspaper.

The Revolution took the opportunity afforded by the Hester Vaughn case to point out the double standard of justice for men and women. They contrasted a case involving a "man who deliberately, intentionally, and in cold blood, shot his wife's seducer" and was acquitted on the ground of insanity with the case of Hester Vaughn, who was convicted "upon the weakest of circumstantial evidence, of murder in the first degree."<sup>129</sup>

The case was the most sensational of the infanticide reports in The Revolution, but the editorial approach was typical--give women the ballot and infanticide would be a thing of the past.

Prostitution was often linked with infanticide in editorial coverage; both were viewed as the natural harvest of man's degradation of women. An unusual appeal was made to husbands and fathers in an editorial by Mrs. Stanton, following an account of the number of houses of prostitution and assignation and the number of prostitutes in New York and Brooklyn:

Scarce a day passes but some of our daily journals take note of the fearful ravages on the race, made through the crimes of Infanticide and Prostitution.

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<sup>129</sup> The Revolution, December 31, 1868, p. 406.



For a quarter of a century sober, thinking women have warned this nation of these thick coming dangers, and pointed to the only remedy, the education and enfranchisement of woman; but men have laughed them to scorn. . . .

So long as the Bible, through the ignorance of its ex-pounders, makes maternity a curse, and women, through ignorance of the science of life and health find it so, we need not wonder at the multiplication of these fearful statistics. . . . Let every thinking man make himself to-day a missionary in his own house. Regulate the diet, dress, exercise, health of your wives and daughters. Send them to Mrs. Plumb's gymnasium, Dio Lewis's school, or Dr. Taylor's Swedish movement cure, to develop their muscular system, and to Kuczkowski to have the rhubarb, the sulphur, the mercury and "the sins of their fathers" (Exodus 20:5) soaked out of their brains.<sup>130</sup>

A bill introduced in the New York legislature, which The Revolution saw as a plan to legalize prostitution, was soundly attacked; and once again Mrs. Stanton asked for the ballot to raise woman from the "depths of her degradation" and thus suppress prostitution.<sup>131</sup>

Double standards. The injustice of double standards of morality was addressed repeatedly by The Revolution. A second sensational occurrence, the McFarland-Richardson murder case, got full editorial treatment. In contrast, The Revolution's rival, the Woman's Journal refrained from comment on the case. As a result, the Journal's reputation as a conservative, respectable women's rights newspaper was enhanced, and by comparison, The Revolution's reputation as the radical women's rights paper was reinforced.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> The Revolution, February 5, 1868, p. 65.

<sup>131</sup> The Revolution, March 19, 1868, p. 168.

<sup>132</sup> Lutz, Created Equal, p. 191; Lutz, Susan B. Anthony, pp. 174-175; Door, p. 223.

Daniel McFarland, after a trial which attracted nationwide interest, was acquitted on the plea of insanity of the shooting of Albert Richardson, a well-known journalist. According to the Lutz account, Richardson had befriended Mrs. McFarland after her divorce. At the time McFarland was acquitted, he was given custody of his child. "Such an insult to a woman, Elizabeth and Susan could not allow to go unchallenged," Lutz wrote.<sup>133</sup> In the December 24, 1869, issue of The Revolution Mrs. Stanton expressed her views on the matter:

You ask what I think of the Richardson affair. I rejoice over every slave that escapes from a discordant marriage. . . . One would really suppose that a man owned his wife as the master the slave, and that this was simply an affair between Richardson and McFarland, fighting like two dogs over one bone. . . .

This wholesale shooting of wives' paramours should be stopped. . . .

Suppose women should decide to shoot their husbands' mistresses, what a wholesale slaughter of innocents we should have of it! I wonder how long justice would halt in our courts in their case, and how long public sentiment would sustain such action?

. . . . .

If I had a word to say in regard to Mr. McFarland, I should put him in some safe asylum, or prison, where he could never deceive another woman, nor take the life of another man.<sup>134</sup>

Women's dress. Nowhere was the double standard under greater attack in The Revolution than in the matter of dress for women. Until they sadly concluded that wearing bloomers or shorter dresses was counteractive to their efforts in obtaining women's rights, Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton reveled in their release from the burden of current women's fashion, and they strongly encouraged other women

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133 Lutz, Created Equal, p. 190.

134 The Revolution, December 23, 1869, p. 385.

to adopt the more convenient style. Typical of the arguments in support of bloomers was this:

Rev. Dr. Todd would have us believe that all women who dare to wear a convenient, healthful, physiological dress are "semi-men." Dr. Todd can know nothing of the motives and principles that govern most of the women that wear "bloomers," or else he cannot appreciate true womanhood. Hundreds of women to-day owe their health--aye, their lives--to the change from long, tight dresses to "bloomers," "American costume" or the "gymnastic dress." Thousands of women are sinking to early graves from painful diseases contracted by the contracting, fettering long robes that Dr. Todd tells us are the only suitable dress for women to wear. Very many of these sufferers are fully conscious that their dress causes much of their suffering, but had rather suffer and die than face the sarcasm and ridicule that a healthful dress would extort from such men as Rev. Dr. Todd. Give such women mental freedom--full equality before the law--and their fear of ridicule would soon vanish.

If any man thinks woman's dress is what it should be, let him array his own body in the most approved style of any "fashionable dressmaker" for only one week--meantime attending to daily duties--then give his views on paper. They would read in this wise: My dress is so tight at the shoulders that I can hardly lift my arm to my head; so tight around the lungs that I suffer terribly all the time, can't exercise for want of breath: can't press through a crowd with long, full skirts without great effort, and the sensations of being pulled apart where the skirts fasten around the body; cannot walk against the wind without double the strength required in man's dress; am constantly making missteps caused by stepping on the dress; no use to think of carrying anything upstairs, for both hands are needed to keep the skirts from under foot; elastics so tight that circulation nearly stops; feet cold all the time of course.<sup>135</sup>

Temperance. Temperance was another issue that received frequent editorial attention in The Revolution. A short article in the February, 1869, issue conveys the paper's editorial stand:

A large Temperance Convention was held last week in Trenton, New Jersey. The discussions were animated and able; but the following resolutions, after long and earnest consideration,

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135 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, pp. 133-134.

were most inappropriately laid on the table:

Resolved, That the denial to woman of her political rights in this state has been disastrous to the temperance cause, and that the restoration of those rights would tend to hasten the success of probition by infusing into our state politics a large amount of virtue and honesty. Resolved, That this convention would therefore hail with gladness the extension to woman of the right of suffrage of which she has been so long and unjustly despoiled.

New Jersey is coming through, and will soon be a power for all such little mistakes as this.<sup>136</sup>

The Revolution never backed off from sermonizing. Tea, coffee, and liquor were considered stimulating drinks. Tea and coffee "should never be used except as medicines," one article stated. And another intoned:

Fathers and mothers of America! Would you have your children rise up and call you blessed? Give them water to drink and they will live to bless you to the latest day of their lives. Let no stimulant taint their pure bodies, and heaven will be the home of their pure souls, and anthems of praise will they sing to God in your names, while age after age of eternity rolls.<sup>137</sup>

An account of the "drunken debauchery" of congressmen and "muddled Senators and boozy Congressmen" enacting laws for a "Bourbon President to vote" was reprinted from the New York Tribune, followed by this editorial directed at Horace Greeley:

Republicans and Democrats all admit Gen. Grant drinks, and many reliable persons assert that they have seen him drunk in the streets of Washington. Yet, with the above words from thy pen and these facts known unto thee, darest thou, O Horace, say that thou wilt support such a man if he runneth? O Horace, Horace, wilt thou be a hypocrite?<sup>138</sup>

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136 The Revolution, February 11, 1869, p. 90.

137 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 132.

138 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 137.

Progress in women's rights. The right of women to serve as jurors, to control their own property, and to engage in all social and legal activities open to men were topics which received frequent news and editorial coverage in The Revolution. Progress of women in their struggle for equality, whether in America or abroad, was cause for rejoicing; instances of inequalities were occasions for lamenting.

Advice. Always within the pages of The Revolution were the crusading efforts of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and their friends in the women's rights movement. Coaxing, praising, shaming, cajoling, and sometimes antagonizing their female readers, they struggled to help women gain equality and to prepare them for their liberation. Recognizing, however, that not all women wanted equality, they considered it part of their responsibility to enlighten their "backward sisters."

Enlightenment frequently consisted of advice about ways for women to improve themselves mentally and physically. By today's standards, some of the tips for better health are amusing. Typical was this statement taken from an article recommending looser wearing apparel:

The "tight lacing" pushes the abdominal organs down towards the pelvis and displaces the viscera in the latter cavity, thereby occasioning many of the most troublesome maladies peculiar to women.<sup>139</sup>

A caution against "sleeping together" appeared in the same issue:

SLEEPING TOGETHER.--The Laws of Life says [sic]: "More quarrels arise between brothers, between sisters, between

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139 The Revolution, June 17, 1869, p. 370.

hired girls, between apprentices in machine shops, between clerks in stores, between hired men, between husbands and wives, owing to electrical changes through which their nervous systems go by lodging together night after night under the same bedclothes than by almost any other disturbing cause. There is nothing that will so derange the nervous system of a person who is eliminative in nervous force as to lie all night in bed with another person who is absorbent in nervous force. The absorber will go to sleep and rest all night, while eliminator will be tumbling and tossing, restless and nervous, and wake in the morning fretful, peevish, fault-finding and discouraged. No two persons, no matter who they are, should habitually sleep together. One will thrive and the other will lose. This is the law, and in married life it is defined almost universally.

Here is a great physical law that all would do well to obey. Every man, woman and child should have a bed to him or herself. Let those just going to housekeeping buy no double beds, and never allow a baby to sleep with a servant. Cribs, cots and single beds for health and happiness.<sup>140</sup>

Noble goals. While The Revolution was laced with wit, humor, and biting sarcasm, there was never a question of its serious intent. In a pitch for subscriptions, signed jointly by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, the following objectives of the paper were expressed:

Our object has been not so much to make a popular paper, as to educate and elevate the people to higher, nobler views of justice and truth.<sup>141</sup>

## Politics

When the first issue of The Revolution was published, the advocates of suffrage for women had just chalked up what they considered a remarkable victory--9,000 votes for the enfranchisement of women in the

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140 The Revolution, June 17, 1869, p. 379.

141 The Revolution, December 24, 1868, p. 328.

state of Kansas. It was a heady note on which to start their publication; they were extremely optimistic. Mrs. Stanton, in that first issue, gave credit for the Kansas victory to George Train for arousing the Democrats to a favorable vote and to the other suffragists who stumped the state:

All praise to Olympia Brown, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Henry B. Blackwell, and Judge Wood, who welcomes, for an idea, the hardships of travelling in a new State, fording streams, scaling rocky brinks, sleeping on the ground and eating hard tack, with the fatigue of constant speaking, in school-houses, barns, mills, depots and the open air; . . . Having shared with them the hardships, with them I rejoice in our success.<sup>142</sup>

Mrs. Stanton's editorial on the front page of the first issue was one of hundreds to follow on the subject of women's suffrage. In another article, she vowed that the men of the state of New York would have no rest until the word "male" was removed from the Constitution.<sup>143</sup> Readers of The Revolution soon learned that she spoke in earnest. The editors were indeed radical about the enfranchisement of women.

Editorials in The Revolution were usually lengthy, often continuing through two or three columns. Again and again, women's grievances were enumerated. In an editorial in April of the first year of publication, Parker Pillsbury, linking the grievances to women's rights, actually set what might be called an editorial pattern for The Revolution. Woman, he said, was degraded by man because of her sex.

If the right of liberty and the pursuit of happiness be the gift and endowment of the Creator, then surely is the right to

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142 The Revolution, January 8, 1868, p. 1.

143 The Revolution, January 15, 1868, p. 24.



the ballot; the only possible or conceivable assurance and guaranty of it in republican governments. And on this ground the claim of woman is no less than that of man. But base and degrading as has been the position of the negro in the government, that of woman is far lower. At no price within human power to pay, can she arrive at equality in the government she is compelled to support and obey. In the making or executing of no law, however deeply her womanly interest or happiness may be involved, can she bear a part. She is found guilty, not of a crime, not of a color, but of a sex; and all her appeals to courts or communities, for equality and justice, are in vain, even in this democratic and Christian republic. She is a native, free-born citizen, a property-holder, tax-payer, loyal and patriotic. She supports herself, and in proportionate part, the schools, colleges, universities, churches, poor-houses, jails, prisons, the army, the navy, the whole machinery of government; and yet she has no vote at the polls, no voice in the national councils. She has guided great movements of philanthropy and charity; has founded and sustained churches; established missions; edited journals; written and published invaluable treatises on history and economy, political, social and moral; and on philosophy in all its departments; filled honorably professors' chairs; governed nations; led armies; commanded ships; discovered and described new plants; practiced creditably in the liberal professions; and patiently explored the whole realm of scientific research; and yet, because in life's allotment, she is female, not male, woman, not man, the curse of inferiority cleaves to her through all her generations.<sup>144</sup>

The Revolution would be instrumental in awakening man to injustices to women, Pillsbury said, and would convince the nation of the basic right of women to suffrage. It would also convince women--those who were not already convinced--that indeed they needed the ballot to free themselves from men's oppression.

In The Revolution it is determined to prosecute an agitation which shall wake the nation to new consciousness of the injustice long inflicted and still suffered through proscriptive distinctions on account of sex and complexion. To the industrial, hard-toiling, property-producing, family-supporting women, our

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144 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 248.

appeal is made to come to the rescue of their own long lost rights.<sup>145</sup>

With women's suffrage the dominant theme, the range covered by Pillsbury in this one editorial was the range into which most Revolution articles fell throughout Susan B. Anthony's control of the paper. Material for the newspaper was written or selected to show that women were treated unfairly and inequitably; women were equal (or even superior) to men; women had to recognize that they were equal to men and insist on enfranchisement; and women had to prepare themselves to exercise intelligently the right of enfranchisement once it was achieved. Whether expressed or implied, the ballot for women was intrinsic to almost every story in the newspaper.

Friends and foes. A common practice of The Revolution was to identify individuals, organizations, or institutions whose views were in direct accord with or in direct opposition to those of the editors. The supporter was lavishly commended; the offender was sharply reprehended. One of the first segments of society to feel the blast of Revolution rhetoric was the press of the day, especially the New York and Eastern newspapers. Many of the editorial comments by the editors were printed in a section called "What the Press Says of Us." The comments followed a reprint of what a particular newspaper had to say about The Revolution or its content. Most reprints dealt with suffrage; obviously, women's suffrage and The Revolution were synonymous in the view of the press and the public. An editorial from the

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145 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 248.

Providence Press reprinted in The Revolution said the new paper was "exciting the country by its stirring advocacy of woman's rights."

The response of The Revolution editors to the item indicated that they agreed:

Yes, we are stirring the country. Everybody either hates or loves us; none are indifferent. All our letters are positive; some breathe threatenings and wrath, others blessings and good will. We know we are right, and so move on.<sup>146</sup>

Susan B. Anthony and her editors were never shaken in the conviction that their cause was just and right. Responding to other publications which did not share their views, their comments were sometimes caustic. Following are excerpts from an article in The Revolution reprinted from the New York Citizen:

Quite equal in its baleful effects on marital and social obligations is the passion for enfranchisement, at present animating the breasts of certain ladies with masculine proclivities. It seems almost incredible that as a matter of choice any woman should prefer the luxury of wielding a ballot to that of nursing a baby. . . . It is of infinitely more importance that the ladies should have brains and babies than that they should flaunt bonnets and ballots. What say those talented and progressive ladies, including Parker Pillsbury, who edit The Revolution?"<sup>147</sup>

This sharp reply by The Revolution editors followed:

Now, Miles, pray do not mix things up in this unaccountable way. The strong and weakminded have each their idiosyncrasies. To clear up your vision on this question, let us analyze and arrange for you the facts of life. On one side behold ballots, brains and babies. On the other, bonnets, balls, brocades, buchu and barrenness. The women who demand the ballot are those who have brains and babies, who believe in one husband; in clean, comfortable, well-ordered homes; in healthy, happy children, and in the dignity and self-respect of those who

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146 The Revolution, February 19, 1868, p. 101.

147 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 242.

serve the household--women who do not follow fashion or frivolity, but spend their leisure hours in works of charity and reform--in reading, writing, and healthy exercise.<sup>148</sup>

Under the heading "Petticoats and Pantaloons, Principles and Prejudices," The Revolution printed a letter in which the writer said:

Nature has decreed that Madame E. C. Stanton, of The Revolution of New York should wear petticoats, and, as says Punch, that she should stay at home and make the pot boil. But Madame Stanton believes that pantaloons and petticoats should hang on the same hook, without one having the right to surpass the others. That is good logic and we congratulate the lady "blue stocking." For ourselves, the question whether women shall have the suffrage is not a question of right; in fact the governed should have something to say about the legislation which governs them. . . . Therefore, we cannot question the right of women to vote; but we must look at it from another point of view, and ask if it be proper, necessary and logical that she should vote. We reply in the negative. To mix the attributes of the two sexes would be contrary to the law of nature. It is in fact nature that created for them separate and distinct spheres, a separation which manners and laws have sanctioned and perpetuated for centuries, before the wards of Greece and Rome, before Christianity, before "the grass was wet with dew of the first morning." We should be misunderstood if any one were to suppose that we pretend to refuse women the right to vote. We argue simply whether it would be expedient and logical to accord it to her. \* \* \* [sic] Madame Stanton should be content with petticoats. Nature has destined her to wear them, and her efforts to slip into a pair of breeches are pitiable to witness.<sup>149</sup>

A full column of editorial rebuttal followed. These statements were part of that rebuttal:

Seeing, Monsieur, that you are somewhat befogged on the comparative merits of petticoats and pantaloons, as well as the behests of Custom and Nature, we would suggest to you, that there is no real antagonism between suffrage and petticoats, nor necessary connection between the art of governing

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148 The Revolution, April 23, 1868, p. 242.

149 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.

and pantaloons. . . . We might say with equal propriety to Les Libre and Punch, lay down your pens, and with axe and hoe hie you to your appropriate sphere, to the fields and forests, to cut down trees and cultivate the corn.<sup>150</sup>

In contrast, The Revolution praised any newspaper that pleased.

These comments are typical:

That journal [the New York World] always has the best reports and reviews of any paper in the city, and publishes more in one week on the Woman's Rights question than all our radical daily papers do in a year.<sup>151</sup>

The Liberal Christian had a good article last week on the duty of acting in the government for its elevation and purification. The course of argument led to the question of woman's right of suffrage, on which the editor spoke . . . wisely and well. . . .<sup>152</sup>

Suffrage activities. Reports of women's suffrage meetings, speeches regarding women's suffrage, and federal and state activities in regard to women's suffrage appeared in every issue of the paper. Susan B. Anthony's letter to the Democratic Convention in July of 1868, urging the convention to base its platform on universal suffrage, was printed in its entirety.<sup>153</sup>

The political parties frequently received attention in the newspaper and The Revolution's endorsement of the Democratic Party was reflected both in news coverage and editorially. Neither party, on the other hand, got much credit from the editors on the subject of women's

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150 The Revolution, June 25, 1868, p. 395.

151 The Revolution, October 1, 1868, p. 201.

152 The Revolution, August 13, 1868, p. 90.

153 The Revolution, July 9, 1868, p. 1.

suffrage. An editorial by Parker Pillsbury following the Democratic National Convention proclaimed:

The democrats are again in the field, unterrified as ever, united vigorous, defiant as before the war. . . . And with characteristic honesty and boldness they have indicated their policy and purpose when they shall have again come to the throne. . . .

. . . . .  
On the most vital question, that of suffrage and personal liberty, both platforms are simply odious. The states can disfranchise their citizens at pleasure.<sup>154</sup>

In the same issue, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had this to say:

The republicans make themselves quite merry over the fact that the democrats laughed when the letter from the Woman's Suffrage Association was read in their Convention. Now, inasmuch as Miss Anthony's letter was about the best word spoken in the Convention, and as Woman's Suffrage is becoming familiarized to the male mind, we have no reason to suppose that our chivalrous democratic brethren laughed at the idea of Woman's Suffrage, but rather at the crude legislation of the dominant party, as set forth in the letter.

. . . . .  
Seeing that laughter is not an expression of mirth peculiar to man alone, if he laughs we can laugh too. Surely the nonsense and twaddle these "white males" have written and uttered, from Rousseau and Father Gregory down to the Timothy Titcombs of our day, will furnish us with food for laughter as long as we remain in this sphere of action. Sooner or later they must come to "Woman's Suffrage," and sit down in their national councils with both women and black men. So let them laugh on for the good time of "equal rights to all" is close at hand.<sup>155</sup>

Letters from women and men who were traveling throughout the country to lecture on women's suffrage appeared in The Revolution. So did reports on the progress or lack of progress towards women's suffrage in every state in the union--and abroad. The briefest

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154 The Revolution, July 16, 1868, p. 24.

155 The Revolution, July 16, 1868, p. 18.

of articles denoting even miniscule progress were reprinted and received editorial comment. A one-paragraph story, datelined Schenectady, May 10, 1868, read:

The taxpayers of this city voted to-day on a plan for the introduction of water works in this city. Out of 745 votes cast 622 were against the plan. Women voted.<sup>156</sup>

The comment following this item was:

This is the third time within a month that women have voted--in Sturgis, Mich., Passaic, N.J., and Schenectady, N.Y. Will Horace Greeley still insist in the face of this that women do not want to vote? Let the women who are large property holders in this city, who pay half the taxes, now insist on their right to vote on all school questions at least. The wholesale murder of the innocents in our crowded schools calls loudly for woman's attention.<sup>157</sup>

Constitutional Amendments. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments to the Constitution received consecutive coverage in The Revolution.

The Fourteenth Amendment was dramatically attacked in an editorial by Parker Pillsbury following its ratification. The editorial forcefully expressed The Revolution's opposition to the Amendment, first because it gave the right to vote only to "male" inhabitants of the states and secondly because it permitted states to deny that right if they so chose. Pillsbury wrote:

The history of that amendment [the 14th Amendment] should not be forgotten. It was conceived in sin in the first place, and shaped in iniquity; and its fruits will be only evil, and that continually. . . .

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156 The Revolution, May 29, 1868, p. 330.

157 The Revolution, May 29, 1868, p. 330.



Despised, degraded, imbruted, the negro yet ranks politically, even in Connecticut, with the Sigourneys, the Catherine Beechers, the Harriet Beecher Stowes, and all the many eminent women that state ever boasted. It is "women and niggers" wherever we go. . . . And a republican Congress, to win the forfeited favor and friendship of tyrants, traitors and rebels, clinched this diabolical logic by inserting the word male in that very amendment to the Constitution under which the white men of the south hope and confidently expect to degrade and disfranchise their colored citizens for ever more. And thus southern slaveholders and northern republicans answer together, NO, SO HELP US GOD, WE WILL NOT LET "WOMEN AND NIGGERS VOTE!"<sup>158</sup>

In January 1869 Susan B. Anthony called together the first women's suffrage convention ever held in Washington. Earlier the form for a petition asking for an Amendment to the Constitution (to be the Fifteenth Amendment) was printed in The Revolution. Readers were urged to circulate it for signatures and return it to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, which was, of course, the address of The Revolution. The following statement was part of the appeal that accompanied the petition form:

In behalf of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, we publish to-day in The Revolution, and issue on sheets for circulation and signature, a Form of Petition to Congress in behalf of Equal Suffrage throughout the country for men and women.

It will be remembered that in August last we made similar appeal, limited at that time to the District of Columbia.

We are now assured that at the opening of Congress next month, a vigorous movement will be made "for a Constitutional Amendment, providing for Universal Manhood Suffrage, in all the States." We now wish to press our demand that womanhood also be recognized in the proposed enlargement of suffrage and citizenship.

.....

We therefore present to-day with confidence as well as hope, this earnest appeal. We shall distribute the Form of Petition as widely as possible. Any persons wishing for it, but who do not receive it immediately, are earnestly desired to copy from The Revolution or send to our Headquarters for a supply.

Let no time be lost. Let every man, woman, child even, old enough to co-operate, and whose heart is in the cause, lend a helping hand in circulating these petitions. . . .<sup>159</sup>

In the December 10, 1868, issue The Revolution rejoiced in Senator Pomeroy's resolution that suffrage should be the right of all citizens without distinction of race, color, or sex.<sup>160</sup> Their hopes rose again when Congressman Julian proposed a similar resolution.<sup>161</sup> But once again The Revolution was forced to accept defeat--indignantly, of course. The Fifteenth Amendment submitted to the states for ratification did not limit the elective franchise to males, but neither did it extend it to females. The Revolution printed a comment from the New York Times.

With the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, we may fairly look upon the Suffrage agitation as at an end, for the present political generation at all events--and that consideration, of itself, affords a very powerful argument in favor of its adoption.<sup>162</sup>

Parker Pillsbury responded:

Such is the conclusion of the N.Y. Times. It is, too, the belief, hope and intention of a large number of party leaders, both republican and democrat. But such reckon without their host. They seem to have no idea with whom they have to deal. Woman may not achieve her rights next year; may not vote for

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159 The Revolution, November 19, 1868, p. 305.

160 The Revolution, December 10, 1868, p. 360.

161 The Revolution, December 17, 1869, p. 369.

162 The Revolution, March 11, 1869, p. 155.

President in 1872. But if President Grant means by "let us have peace," an end to the struggle for Woman Suffrage, he must pray to some other than the God of heaven, or the politicians of his party and country: for the latter can't [sic] stop the agitation, and the former won't.<sup>163</sup>

The Revolution continued its opposition to the Fifteenth Amendment until it was ratified in 1870, then started agitating for a Sixteenth Amendment.

The convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association was held in Washington in January 1870, and Susan B. Anthony submitted a resolution for a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the disfranchisement of any citizen on account of sex. The account in The Revolution described Miss Anthony's accompanying remarks:

She was tired of this continual talk about Female Suffrage. She had been speech making now twenty years, and was tired of it. She wanted action now, and would not be satisfied until Congress had acted in their behalf.<sup>164</sup>

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton campaigned for the Sixteenth Amendment at Woman's Suffrage Conventions throughout the country, and The Revolution noted their remarks on behalf of the Amendment.

Presidential criticism. The Revolution, with its customary forthrightness, expressed its view on the President of the United States. They had no respect for President Johnson, but they did not advocate impeachment, claiming instead that the impeachment trial was

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163 The Revolution, March 11, 1869, p. 155.

164 The Revolution, January 27, 1870, p. 52.

a ploy of the Republicans to confuse people. Convinced, however, that impeachment was inevitable, Mrs. Stanton wrote:

As we write, we assume that Andrew Johnson will be impeached by the House of Representatives. We presume that this step has been deliberately taken, and therefore that his conviction and removal from office are sure to follow. Perhaps it is well that the crisis has come, for we have long seen that it is utterly impossible for the President and Congress to work together, and these constant quarrels keep the country in such a turmoil, that one or the other must needs be put out of the way, and as the President cannot remove Congress, but Congress can the President, his deposition from office seems the only road out of the difficulty. So let him slide. We are sorry to see a paying subscriber of The Revolution come to grief, but we will try to make our columns as consoling as possible to him in his retirement. (Will Mr. Johnson please inform us, if not to the White House, where we shall direct The Revolution hereafter.)<sup>165</sup>

General Grant fared no better in The Revolution, partly because he had a reputation for intemperance. Mrs. Stanton commented:

Now that Johnson will be soon out of the way, let the nation rejoice that his legal successor is an honest and a sober man. . . . Let leading temperance men make it their business to inquire into these rumors of Gen. Grant's habits, and see the people face to face who can testify what they have witnessed. Gen. Grant's antecedents are against him. He left the army once because of his intemperance. Can a man who has this appetite in his blood and who drinks his wine daily, be trusted with a nation's welfare? Let the temperance hosts speak in unmistakable language to our Republican politicians, and tell them, if they ask your votes, to nominate sober men for high places.<sup>166</sup>

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165 The Revolution, February 26, 1868, p. 121.

166 The Revolution, March 5, 1868, p. 138.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Revolution, born of chance and kept alive by the determination of its publisher, Susan B. Anthony, had a tenuous beginning. Miss Anthony, a woman of sound judgment in business matters, started her newspaper on a promise and little more. Her estranged abolitionist friend, Wendell Phillips, sounded an early warning in the Antislavery Standard, which he edited. It was reprinted in The Revolution, without editorial response, under the heading "What the Press Says of Us":

From the Antislavery Standard.

Have you lived so long and not learned that a journal should have \$100,000 capital and its editor \$50,000 private fortune before he can afford to tell what he thinks?--Brooklyn speech, Dec. 26.

Wendell Phillips, Editor. 168

If Miss Anthony had any reservations about George Francis Train's generous offer to back a women's suffrage newspaper, they did not surface in the pages of The Revolution. It is possible, however, that an obsession which transcended reason, common sense, or caution may have impaired her judgment. That obsession was women's suffrage. Miss Anthony was dedicated to the enfranchisement of women, and a study of her life indicates that many of her contemporaries considered her extreme, sometimes radical, and frequently lacking in judgment on the

subject of women's rights and suffrage. She saw The Revolution as a mouthpiece for women's suffrage, as a catalyst for action, and as an essential vehicle to exhort women to seek and prepare themselves for equality. She expressed these goals in early issues.

### Conclusions

The Revolution did not become a spokesman for the women's movement. While it was accepted by some of the leaders in the movement as an official organ, it was rejected by many as too extreme. On the other hand, there is ample evidence in The Revolution that the newspaper was not ignored by lawmakers or opinion leaders. Their reactions to the newspaper and to Miss Anthony's suffrage efforts appeared in The Revolution, frequently reprinted verbatim from the press of that period.

Flexner in Century of Struggle credited The Revolution with significant impact on women's causes:

The weekly sixteen-page paper, smaller than today's tabloids, made a contribution to the women's cause out of all proportion to either its size, brief lifespan, or modest circulation. . . . It was a lively mirror of the status and struggles of women on many fronts. Here was news not to be found elsewhere--of the organization of women typesetters, tailoresses, and laundry workers, of the first women's clubs, of pioneers in the professions, of women abroad.

But The Revolution did more than just carry news, or set a new standard of professionalism for papers edited by and for women. It gave their movement a forum, focus, and direction. It pointed, it led, and it fought, with vigor and vehemence.<sup>169</sup>

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169 Flexner, Century of Progress, p. 151.

Flexner's commentary was made almost a century after the publication of The Revolution and it reflects the perspective of time. But, during the two and a half years that the newspaper was published by Miss Anthony, defeats for The Revolution outnumbered victories:

The newspaper was not popular. Circulation did not approach the announced goal of 100,000; at the highest, it was 3,000.

Advertising did not increase and could not provide the financial stability the paper required.

Additional financial support promised by George Francis Train did not materialize.

Editors Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, while they did not abandon Miss Anthony, devoted less and less time to the newspaper.

The major causes which The Revolution advocated went down in defeat--the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, opposed by The Revolution, were approved, and no discernible progress was made in achieving women's suffrage.

During the time it was published, The Revolution gloried in a few victories, but they were minor or of a doubtful nature. Among these:

Hester Vaughn, whose pardon The Revolution advocated, was released and returned to England.

The Revolution's editorials were frequently quoted in the contemporary press, and the publication's appearance and content were generally commended by the press.



Letters from readers of The Revolution indicated that the newspaper struck a responsive chord in many women readers, releasing them from the derogatory concept they held of themselves as women and offering them a new direction in their lives.

All in all, The Revolution was an impressive publication during the time Susan B. Anthony guided its course. It was attractive in appearance and its editorials were provocative, witty, and stylishly written. It was consistent in its editorial stance and uncompromising on women's rights issues. It was liberal, informative, frequently amusing and seldom, if ever, dull.

Above all, The Revolution captured the throbbing intensity of the two women suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

That the publication did not achieve the goals envisioned by its editors nor the results implied by its controversial name can hardly be blamed on Miss Anthony or Mrs. Stanton. After all, the women's suffrage cause they espoused was 50 years ahead of accomplishment. It was 1920 before women were enfranchised in the United States. When enfranchisement came, the two early feminists who worked most of their lifetimes for suffrage and were the first to use their own newspaper to advance the cause were not alive to rejoice in the victory.

### Further Study

A number of possibilities for further research were suggested by this study of The Revolution.

The financial and advertising sections of the newspaper, barely touched in this thesis, provide ample material for research.

A study of The Revolution and the successful Woman's Journal, established as a rival women's rights newspaper in competition with The Revolution, could compare or contrast the treatment of women's rights themes by the popular Woman's Journal, which stayed alive for 12 years, and the less successful Revolution.

The striking similarity in the present Women's Movement as viewed by women editors of Ms. and the nineteenth century Woman's Movement as viewed by the women editors of The Revolution also suggests the possibility of comparing and contrasting the publications and the women's rights themes espoused by both.

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# Resolution.

## APPENDIX

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.

VOL. I.—NO. 1.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1868.

\$2.00 A YEAR.

## The Revolution;

THE ORGAN OF THE

NATIONAL PARTY OF NEW AMERICA.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY—INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

### THE REVOLUTION WILL ADVOCATE:

1. IN POLITICS.—Educated Suffrage, Irrespective of Sex or Color; Equal Pay to Women for Equal Work; Eight Hours Labor; Abolition of Standing Armies and Part Despotisms. Down with Politicians—Up with the People!

2. IN RELIGION.—Deeper Thought; Prosider Ideas; Belence not Superstition; Personal Purity; Love to Man as well as to God.

3. IN SOCIAL LIFE.—Morality and Reform; Practical Education, not Theoretical; Facts not Fiction; Virtue not Vice; Cold Water not Alcoholic Drinks or Medicines. It will indulge in no Gross Personalities and insert no Quack or Immoral Advertisements, so common even in Religious Newspapers.

4. THE REVOLUTION proposes a new Commercial and Financial Policy. America no longer led by Europe. Gold like our Cotton and Corn for sale. Greenbacks for money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for American Steamships and Shipping; or American goods in American bottoms. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A FREE OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor; and if Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau, cannot they spare One Million to Educate Europe and to keep bright the chain of acquaintance and friendship between those millions and their Fatherland?

Send in your Subscription. THE REVOLUTION, published weekly, will be the Great Organ of the Age.

TERMS.—Two dollars a year, in advance. Ten copies (30) sent the reader to one copy free.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editor.  
PARKER HILLSBURY.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Proprietor and Manager.

37 East Bow Lane 17, New York City.

To whom address all business letters.

### KANSAS.

THE question of the enfranchisement of woman has already passed the court of moral discussion, and is now fairly ushered into the arena of politics, where it must remain a fixed element of debate, until party necessity shall compel its success.

With 9,000 votes in Kansas, one-third the entire vote, every politician must see that the friends of "woman's suffrage" hold the balance of power in that State to-day. And those 9,000 votes represent a principle deep in the hearts of the people, for this triumph was secured without money, without a press, without a party. With these instrumentalities now fast coming to us on all sides, the victory in Kansas is but the herald of greater victories in every State of the Union. Kansas already leads the world in her legislation for woman on questions of property, education, wages, marriage and divorce. Her best universities are open alike to boys and girls. In fact woman has a voice in the legislation of that State. She votes on all school questions and is eligible to the office of trustee. She has a voice in temperance too; no license is granted without the consent of a majority of the adult citizens, male and female, black and white. The consequence is, stone school houses are voted up in every part of the State, and run voted down. Many of the ablest men in that State are champions of woman's cause. Governors, judges, lawyers and clergymen. Two-thirds of the press and pulpits advocate the idea, in spite of the opposition of politicians. The first Governor of Kansas, twice chosen to that office, Charles Robinson, went all through the State, speaking every day for two months in favor of woman's suffrage. In the organization of the State government, he proposed that the words "white (male)" should not be inserted in the Kansas constitution. All this shows that giving political rights to women is no new idea in that State. Who that has listened with tearful eyes to the deep experiences of those Kansas women, through the darkest hours of their history, does not feel that such bravery and self-denial as they have shown alike in war and peace, have richly earned for them the crown of citizenship.

Opposed to this moral sentiment of the liberal minds of the State, many adverse influences were brought to bear through the entire campaign.

The action of the New York Constitutional Convention; the silence of eastern journals on the question; the opposition of abolitionists to a demand for woman's suffrage should defeat negro suffrage; the hostility everywhere of black men themselves; some even stumping the State against woman's suffrage; the official action of both the leading parties in their conventions in Leavenworth against the proposition, with every organized Republican inf-

ence outside as well as inside the State, all combined might have made our vote comparatively a small one, had not George Francis Train gone into the State two weeks before the election and galvanized the Democrats into their duty, thus securing 9,000 votes for woman's suffrage. Some claim that we are indebted to the Republicans for this vote; but the fact that the most radical republican district, Douglass County, gave the largest vote against woman's suffrage, while Leavenworth, the Democratic district, gave the largest vote for it, fully settles that question.

In saying that Mr. Train helped to swell our vote takes nothing from the credit due all those who labored faithfully for months in that State. All praise to Olympia Brown, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Henry R. Blackwell, and Judge Wool, who welcomed, for an idea, the hardships of travelling in a new State, fording streams, scaling rocky brinks, sleeping on the ground and eating hard tack, with the fatigue of constant speaking, in school-houses, barns, mills, depots and the open air; and especially, all praise to the glorious Hutchinson family—John, his son Henry and daughter, Viola—wife, with their own horses and carriage, made the entire circuit of the state, singing Woman's Suffrage into souls that logic could never penetrate. Having shared with them the hardships, with them I rejoice in our success.

E. C. S.

### THE BALLOT—BREAD, VIRTUE, POWER.

THE REVOLUTION will contain a series of articles, beginning next week, to prove the power of the ballot in elevating the character and condition of woman. We shall show that the ballot will secure for woman equal place and equal wages in the world of work; that it will open to her the schools, colleges, professions and all the opportunities and advantages of life; that in her hand it will be a moral power to stay the tide of vice and crime and misery on every side. In the words of Bishop Simpson—

"We believe that the great vices in our large cities will never be conquered until the ballot is put in the hands of women. If the question of the danger of their sons being drawn away into drinking saloons was brought up, if the mothers had the power, they would close them; if the sisters had the power, and they saw their brothers going away to haunts of infamy, they would close those places. You may get men to trifle with purity, with virtue, with righteousness; but, thank God, the hearts of the women of our land—the mothers, wives and daughters—are too pure to make a compromise either with intemperance or licentiousness."

Thus, too, shall we purge our constitutions and statute laws from all invidious distinctions among the citizens of the States, and secure the same civil and moral code for man and woman. We will show the hundred thousand female teachers, and the millions of laboring women, that their complaints, petitions, strikes and protective unions are of no avail until they hold the ballot in their own hands; for it is the first step toward social, religious and political equality.



# The Revolution.

## THE FIRST WOMAN'S VOTE

**Woman's vote.** A woman has voted in England for the first time; and the English nation surveys the shock. The *Queen and Lady's* newspaper, an elegant London periodical, and of most liberal tendencies, contains the following report:

The contest for the representation of Manchester last week brought into prominence a new element among voters. While some people said, others are, and on, while a great deal of voting discretion has been going on as to whether women, who pay taxes, shall have the right of voting so in who shall spend the money raised, Mrs. Lily Maxwell appears to have acted in a sane purpose. Her name, by some means or other, had got enrolled in the list of electors; and when she presented herself, in the midst of a species of mild triumphal procession, in marked contrast to the Mr. Jacob Bright, (brother of John Bright,) a clerk had no alternative but to take the privileged vote and record it along with those obtained by persons of the more favored sex.

The name "Lily Maxwell" is registered (No. 12,334) so that of persons entitled to vote for the Parliamentary borough of Manchester. How this came about no one has yet told us. It is suggested that the registrar may have imposed Lily to be a masculine name. We do not in the least see how such a mistake could arise. Had the name been *William* or *Francis*, or some other which are borne by both men and women, and are nearly alike, we could have understood the mistake; or if it happened (as it does not infrequently in Scotland) that the female voter had been called by a really masculine name, the origin of the mistake would have been clear. But the name "Lily" is so essentially feminine, that we must look for some other explanation. We suppose that the lady will have fairly come forward herself in recognition of the fact that the corrected name might be effective term; and the registrar of voters for Manchester will, we doubt, be on his guard in future, lest other female voters should be found on his lists.

The vote was not given secretly, as is a by-law of the franchise. "Lily Maxwell" was accompanied to the polling booth by her husband, who was recorded her vote by Mrs. Bocher, the secretary of the Woman's Suffrage Society of Manchester. This conjunction is curious. Moreover, a number of persons, among whom were several members of the All Saints' Ward Committee, accompanied the ladies to and from the poll.

The Times has laughed at, and sneered at little about the event, and has said that women do not care about political power; that is, about votes. But the instance on which the comments were made proves the contrary, and has shown that, if women had votes, they would probably be perfectly able sensibly to use the power thus given them.

The following letter from Mrs. Bocher, to the editor of the Times, has appeared in that journal:

"Sir: Will you permit me to say that the Woman's Suffrage Society of Manchester is not responsible for the occurrence of Mrs. Lily Maxwell's name on the register of electors for this city? We do not know how it came there, but, finding it on the register, the owner of the name used her vote in accordance with her political opinions.

"Lily Maxwell is a widow, who keeps a small shop in a quiet street of Manchester. She supports herself and pays her own rates and taxes out of her own earnings. She has no man to influence or be influenced by, and she has very decided political principles, which determined her vote for Mr. Jacob Bright at the recent election. We are perfectly aware that a local scrutiny might result in depriving this householder and rate payer of the privilege of the franchise; but, though such a decision might be legal, we are unable to perceive why it would be equitable to take away her vote from a person who has proved that she values the privilege, and who fulfills every condition which the law declares essential to its exercise. Yours, etc.,

"LYDIA K. HAZARD, Hon. Secretary Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage."  
"112 Charter Street, Manchester, Nov. 24."

The Queen is in no respect a political journal; but we think this matter quite worthy of record, and mentioning to our readers as a fact, whether they regard the franchise as suitable for women or not.

The lady as it thinks, and very justly, that it is a very rare circumstance that a black man and a white man wish to marry each other. But if any two wish to marry, let them marry, it is

important and appropriate for other people, and particularly for legislators, to interfere. But it seems that the Alabama Convention did only propose to prevent the making of such marriages in the future, but to annul all such marriages made in the past. This is an oversight on the part of that convention; for the number of whites and blacks who ought to be married to one another in Alabama is already far greater than the number who are so married. The true legislation for Alabama is the solemnization, not the annulment, of such marriage.

## LECTURE BY LUCY STONE

ON SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN, AT THE SOCIETY ACADEMY, DEC. 21.

Mrs. Stone's lecture, last evening, was logical and persuasive, varied with argument, fact, and pathos. She gave an able digest of our oppressive laws for women, and many touching incidents of every-day life. We give the report of her speech from the *World*, as the best we find in any of the daily journals:

Mrs. Stone said the subject she brought before the audience was not a new one in America. Whatever might be the case in other places, there was the voice often heard in America in regard to the question, as to what when the same theme to speak about woman's suffrage she felt that she could not tell all that there was to be told about it. For she thought of the early history of the country in relation to women's rights, and from that they would see that the claim was by no means a new one, but was at least as old as the Declaration of Independence. When the war of the Revolution was upon them, the fathers learned the lessons of suffering, and declared that political power inheres in the people; they learned that political power accrued to the people by right; and they wrote their constitutions in the immortal Declaration, in those words so beautiful and so strong that "All governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed." This was a self-evident proposition, which he who runs may read; and it has been adopted as the foundation of liberty in the Republic. But when women come to claim their right under the Declaration; when they assert that they are a part of the people in whom political power inheres; when they ask that their rights may be recognized, she did not see how their claims could be fairly denied. Now the only way in which the consent of the governed is to be obtained in regard to any government is by suffrage. It could not be otherwise. For if it be said that hence gives consent, then that gives right of existence to despotism; for silence might give a claim to any kind of government. By means of suffrage only could the assent or dissent of the people be obtained in regard to any principle, measure, or man. From the right of suffrage, however, were excluded non-naturalized inhabitants of the country; minors also, because it was supposed that they had not arrived at discretion to make a rational choice; criminals, also, because as they had made war on society, society protected itself by taking away their power as law makers; idiots and lunatics also, because they were incompetent to act rationally in such a matter. But all these exceptions did not conflict with the great principle that political right inheres in the people; but when you disfranchise a woman, you do violate that great principle; because nobody denies that she has every human faculty and is perfectly able to act intelligently. What man would deny that his mother was capable of acting rationally in the matter of the suffrage? What man would say that his wife could not vote rationally? And if any man said by himself, and it ought to put him in the category of exceptional persons. The great mass of women were as well educated, and a great deal more moral than a great many men. It was truly said that the negro who fought in the war, the man who wore the blue uniform, and who did gallant service for the country, had the right to vote. But when the women who sent forth their sons to the great struggle—when they claim to give expression to the irrefragable reference to the laws which they are required to obey—no matter how patriotic, how loyal they might have been, the claim of these women is rejected. Women, indeed, are second-hand—hanged—and to none was ever yet granted the right of a trial by her peers. The man, in fact, governed without her consent, in spite of all the beautiful theories and the Declaration of Independence which all men swear by. Men said it was a self-evident truth that "Governments exist only by the just consent of the governed"—yet when women urge their claim to the suffrage, they said it was a startling generality. Lincoln said that if men could govern without the consent of the governed—if that was not wrong, nothing was wrong. In fact there can be no argument against a self-evident truth. Well, then, why deny its application to the case of women? But this question had advanced beyond the stage of rhetoric, and was becoming a topic of serious and solemn discussion. For two days it had been deliberated in the State Convention; and as the members of that body had negatived the proposition, the women of New York would have to wait twenty years before they could obtain this right. In regard to the question what advantage it would be to women to vote, she said it was necessary for her protection—to enable her to obtain employment on just terms; to give her a fair control of her property, whether as wife or widow; and to enable her to obtain equal rights in regard to the disposal of her children. She cited a great number of State laws bearing upon these points, and said that in all instances they pressed most heavily upon women. The lecturer went on to maintain the justice of the law which empowered men to rule away from their children the property acquired by the maternal labor and economy of the husband and wife; a law which she said existed in every State of the Union but two. It was not, she asserted, by any means a dead law, and in illustration gave several instances in which, to her knowledge, it had been put into operation. And not only was the control of her property taken away from the married woman, but also the control of her children. The old barbarous law of England in respect to the rights and status of women was the law of nearly every part of the Union to this day; a law which gave her to her husband as a chattel, annihilated her personality, and only preserves her the right of being maintained. The slave women in the South understood the practical bearing of this state of things, and in consequence were averse to marriage. They did not want to marry, they said, for then the man could "take the egg, the chicken, and the turkey when he please and sell them;" but, when not married, then they had "the egg, the chicken, and the turkey, and can sell them and get the money." So it was with the white woman. She had no legal existence; in the eye of the law the husband and wife were one, and the husband was that one. In one State the law was that if the husband went out of the State, or was put into the State prison, the wife could use their property, but when the husband returned to the State, or got out of the prison he resumed control over the property. She (the lecturer) was glad to see that everywhere women were beginning to recognize these facts, and that everywhere men and women were joining together in the endeavor to secure the right of suffrage. Petitions to that end were sent to the Legislature from almost every State, and in every State were found good, earnest persons of both sexes who advocated the measure. The newspapers, too, were, many of them, coming out in favor of it, a thing unknown a short time ago. In Kansas they had submitted three Constitutional questions to the vote of the people: first, whether the word "white" should be omitted from the constitution; second, whether the word "male" should be omitted from it, and third, whether the rebels should be allowed to vote, and for the second of these propositions 9,000 votes were recorded out of 25,000; and, as Go. Robinson, of Kansas, said in a letter he wrote only the other day, when the questions of negro suffrage and woman suffrage shall be discussed on their merits both measures will carry. But it was a cause of regret to see that neither political party in the country was willing to base the new constitutions on the will of the people. The Democrats said this was a white man's government; the Republicans said this was a man's government. It should be universal manhood and universal suffrage, and then the questions which agitated the country would be settled easily. But when women said they wanted the privilege of the vote they were asked, Would it not make discord at home? Would not the husband want to vote one way and the wife the other? These men who talked thus seemed to think that if the wife had the privilege to vote it would lead to domestic immediately, and instead of trusting God that what he made true he would make fair, they asked this miserable question. She (the lecturer) liked to go down on election day and see her superior vote; it did one good sometimes to have one's indignation warmed up. She saw on each occasion that the politicians were very kind in their manner. They hummed with good nature and made friends with every voter whose vote they wanted to secure. And if this was the case when a vote was to be secured by them from men, how much more would it be the case when votes were to be secured by men from women. There

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would be peace and amiability in the house—at least at election times. (Laughter.) But seriously the objection was not, as the audience knew, of any worth. On religious questions it was found that husband and wife could respect each other's convictions and live peacefully, to each differing in opinion, and if this was the case in so vital a matter as religion, would it not be so in politics also? Another class of objectors feared that if women voted they would become demoralized and lose their self-respect. Yet it was considered that this same voting would be a capital thing for the negroes; that it would educate them and raise their standard of morals and intellect. But just think, said the objectors, of women going to the polls and mingling with drunken, vulgar, swearing men. They forget that these same men had wives and sisters and daughters. If living with these men all the time did not brut these women, how could half an hour at the polls do so? But granting that there was some force in the objection, why not have separate polls for men and women? But there was no force in the objection. As Henry Ward Beecher said, "if any man molested a woman at the polls, the crowd would swallow him up as the whale swallowed Jonah." In Kansas, the women were allowed to vote in school matters, and the men at such elections came nicely dressed, and there was no profanity, no vulgarity, no drunkenness. It was objected again that even if women were allowed to vote, they would vote as their husbands told them. That could not be told till it was tried. But if it would be so, why should men object to their voting? They ought to be glad to get their vote and have so much more political influence. It was said again that women did not want to vote. Now, a great many of them did want to vote, as they showed by their earnest endeavors to get the right to do so, and why not make it so that those who wish to could? But it was said that if they voted they would next want to hold office. There were so many more men wanting offices that there were offices for them, that the claim was quite natural. Women ought to hold office. There were surely women in the United States that would fill the Presidential chair as well as Andy Johnson. It was objected once more that women should not vote because they did not fight. But how large was the list of men exempted from the duty of fighting who yet claimed the right to vote. And why should the man who perils his life in battle have the right to vote, and not the woman who perils her life when the soldier is born into the world? Mrs. Stone proceeded to set on and knock down the arguments against women's suffrage in the same manner, and ended in a lengthy address, with an appeal to the men of Brooklyn to give their influence to that cause, which she recommended should be done by signing petitions in favor of the principle of female suffrage as has been done extensively in other parts. There was every reason, she said, why men should vote, and why women should vote with them. They should not suppose that conferring the suffrage on the negro only would bring prosperity to the nation. They must give their rights also to the fifteen millions of women who were now unjustly deprived of them. To this and our future national prosperity would be secured; but fail to do it and that security was indefinitely postponed. The path of justice was the only path of safety. The remarks of the fair lecturer were concluded amid applause.

**GRANT—WHERE HE STANDS.**—The party newspapers are continually asking Gen. Grant where he stands; to which the General might very aptly reply to the Radicals or Democrats, Gentlemen, where do you stand?—*N. Y. Herald.*

In one respect the two parties are nearly alike. The Democrats have no candidate. The Republicans come so near that, as to remind one of the man who did not believe in ministers, and yet sent for one to bury his wife. "I thought," said the minister, "you did not believe in having anything at a funeral." "True," replied the other, "and I called you in as the nearest to that, possible." Both parties seem reduced to a pitiful orphanage. Artemus Ward would wail over them as more "bales in the woods." What a bulwark when on the stormiest sea that ever shook its terrors in the face of the poor mariner, with the gloomiest night evidently impending, two oar yet encountered by a nation, to call one to the helm whose only virtue is: best is that they do not absolutely know his utter unfitness, and to confound their fear that if they do not so assign him, the other party will: and that other

party charged too all the while by the Republicans, as deliberately conspiring with the yet unconquered rebels to complete the overthrow of the government!

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE AT RAHWAY, N. J.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMONG THE SENATORS—WHAT THE POLITICIANS THINK OF WOMAN—A SPICY SPEECH AT RAHWAY, NEW JERSEY.

Monday night George Francis Train and Susan B. Anthony were invited to address the people at Rahway, New Jersey, by the Athenaeum society, on the Enfranchisement of Women. A splendid audience greeted the reformers, and Mr. Train spoke for two hours for the glorious cause. Miss Anthony having just returned from Washington, where she had been introducing her new journal, *THE REVOLUTION*, Mr. Train interrupted her by asking about the capital. The following sketch describes a scene that the citizens of Rahway will not soon forget:

TRAIN—Whom did you see at the Capital?

ANTHONY—Everybody.

TRAIN—What did Everybody say to you? (Laughter.)

ANTHONY—They said as Revolutions never go backward, they would all subscribe for the new organ of the age. (Applause.)

TRAIN—Did you see Ben Wade?

ANTHONY—Yes; he led the Senate subscription; he is a royal old fellow. Go ahead, he said; push on; noble cause, and must win eventually; we are too busy now to take it up, but it has got to come; here is my name and two dollars, and thank you too. (Applause.)

TRAIN—What did Sumner say?

ANTHONY—Did not see him; you have to go to his house; he never acknowledges cards sent in to the Senate; but I saw Wilson. He was very gruff; said that Mrs. Stanton and myself, during the last two years, had done more to block reconstruction than all others in the land. But he subscribed nevertheless, for he said, "I shall want to know what you say to us." (Applause.) Senator Pomeroy seemed sore about the Kansas matter, though he is a good friend of the cause of woman, and he subscribed for *THE REVOLUTION* and paid two dollars in gold, saying, "You see I have commenced specie payments."

Ex-Gov. Root, of Kansas, being present, said, "You did a good work in Kansas, Miss Anthony, but you should not charge the Republican party with opposing woman's suffrage. It was only individual Republicans."

Miss ANTHONY—The reverse of that is true. It was only individuals who helped us. Your State Central Committee declared themselves neutral, and then sent out, as agents, all the prominent anti-female suffrage men and not one prominent advocate of the cause in the whole state.

TRAIN—Who else did you see?

ANTHONY—Senators Anthony, Howe, Henderson, Nye and Drake were very friendly, and Senator Fowler said we must go into Tennessee. He would write to Nashville and Memphis at once. Did not think they were educated up to the question, but said woman's voting was only a question of time. The Republicans were bound in honor to take up the measure as soon as they could afford it. (Applause.)

TRAIN—Did Senator Sprague subscribe?

ANTHONY—No; he don't believe in us. Said it was as much as we could do now to manage the women without the ballot (laughter), and with it there would be no managing them at all.

TRAIN—Did you see our Nebraska Senator?

ANTHONY—Yes; Senator Thayer don't believe in woman's suffrage; said we had killed the negro question in Kansas and hoped we would not go into Nebraska; and refused to subscribe. I can only say it was his loss. But Senator Tipton is another style of man; he paid his money. Said *REVOLUTION* is a splendid name. You are all right. The cause is glorious. He seemed disappointed that Thayer did not subscribe. Senator Grimes is with us. I remarked that Theodore Tilton said Iowa will first give us woman suffrage. Yes, replied the Senator, we shall be close upon the heels of the first State if not the first. Senators Conness, Patterson, and Senator Hendricks are too far behind the age to believe in it. California should be more advanced, but I am not surprised at Indiana and Tennessee. (Laughter and applause.) Senator Chandler said No to me with an emphasis. Michigan is more wide awake than her Senator. He seems to forget that his own State Convention recently gave nineteen votes for women and that that small balance of power may, some day, throw him out of the Senate. (Applause.)

The audience were much entertained by Miss Anthony's prompt replies and Mr. Train's persistent pumping to find out what the Congressmen had to say. Miss Anthony had a long list of the leading names of the country, all obtained for *THE REVOLUTION* in two days, and said that some of the Senators told her to come back after the holidays and get the rest of them.

TRAIN—How about the House. Did you get Colfax?

ANTHONY—Yes; he put down his name and said I is money like a man; (applause), but Julian was the first to sign; and he told me that when he saw the name of Parker Pillsbury in the Prospectus as an Editor, he felt that we had made a wise selection; for, of all the old abolitionists he considered him the most prophetic, and at the same time one of the most able of that eminent class of reformers. Elliot said if we raise the wages of the school teachers we shall lose all our daughters. It might be said Mr. Elliot's daughter has a thousand dollar position in the Normal school of St. Louis (applause), where the principal, Miss Brockett, gets two thousand, the highest salary paid among the one hundred thousand woman teachers in America who look to *THE REVOLUTION* as the organ of woman's enfranchisement. (Applause.) Mr. Pile, of Missouri, was very friendly, so was General Banks, who seemed to be a great friend of yours, Mr. Train, and said the only trouble with Mr. Train is he has too much brain, and the politicians have to call him crazy to get rid of him. (Loud laughter and applause.)

TRAIN—If I thought I was as sane as most of our politicians who are ruining the country, I would jump overboard, or follow Cato's plan, fall on my sword. (Loud laughter.)

ANTHONY—Baker of Illinois, and Lawrence of Ohio, were both advocates. Lawrence at first said we don't need *THE REVOLUTION*. Baker said we do and asked Lawrence where there was a paper that would speak for the cause of women without a sneer? Lawrence admitted that it was so. The only argument men had was sarcasm, or an insult. (That's so.) The most disagreeable man I met was Oakes Ames, who said Train told him all about us and our paper in New York. He don't believe in women voting, but I think they would make better Representatives than himself. (Laughter.)

TRAIN—Did you see Farney?

ANTHONY—Oh, yes, Farney said, just the thing *REVOLUTION*—splendid name! just the thing—





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Francis, Credit Mobilier, half of Wall street, and the unimpeachable support of the Pacific Railroad Company. Long may George Francis wait! He is an enemy to dullness and sworn foe to respectable mediocrity. He may be downed wanting in common sense, at times, by those who only hear him talk; but, judged under the test of what he has accomplished and is accomplishing, where can we find an intellect of more practical or capacious grasp? Call all your councils together, George, and let your eagles scream!

(While making our acknowledgments to the *Citizen* for its very friendly notice, we would remark that THE REVOLUTION is an official organ of any corporation or individual. President Johnson was one of the first subscribers, but it does not represent his policy. So were Senators and Representatives, yet it does not represent the policy of Congress; and while it has on its list Pacific Railway Chiefs and Directors, and Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier Shareholders, it is not their organ, nor is it Geo. Francis Train's paper, although we shall always welcome him or Miles O'Reilly, or any other live writer, as a contributor.)

### GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN CHALLENGES WENDELL PHILLIPS.

HE ACCEPTS AN INVITATION TO SPEAK AGAIN—A CONFIDENTIAL TALK WITH JAMES GORDEN BENNETT—SOME PERSONAL REMINDERS.

133½ MADISON AVE., New York City,  
December, 1867.

JAS. GORDON BENNETT, Esq., Editor of *Herald*:

"Train who is the chief engineer of this women's rights campaign, all the way from Kansas, ought to give us another blast at Stinaway Hall.—Editor *Herald*, Edin."

ALL right; give me the same chance the newspapers have Dickens, and I will take off the English (as he has and will again the Americans), draw larger audiences, entertain them better, and give them more for their money.

STANLEY—Fifth avenue Toadying to England, —American Citizens in English-Jails—Educated Suffrage for Women as well as Men—Down with Gold and up with Greenbacks. Something like this our Walker and McCulloch.

A very poor writer and very weak talker, Is treasury bond-broker, Robert J. Walker, Whose gold-paying letter in behalf of the rich, Leaves the poor man, as usual, in bankruptcy's ditch. Let McCulloch, Sam Hooper, Jay Cooke and "Bob," Divide their commissions with Lanier and Rob, To sell out the people in this new foreign loan, Will be the rich men laugh and the poor men groan? Greenbacks are good for our butchers and farmers, While nothing but gold suits our dear "Alabama," A National debt that was made by inflation, By inflation can only be paid by the Nation; And Shylock's grant awhile is nipped in the bud, You pay him the ducats and refuse him the blood.

Besides I will show how it is that foreign bankers rule New York and Congress—why Johnson and McCulloch are in English hands, and why the New York *Herald* is the only independent journal in America—when it thinks it will pay, give us fair play as you do the yachtmen, the pedestarians, the prize fighters and Charles Dickens, and while Mrs. Stanton and Mrs. Anthony explain Woman's Rights, I will show up Woman's Wrong.

#### ARE NOT OUR WOMEN EXPANDED?

The first nine thousand votes ever cast in the world for women, ought not to have been given to the New York press. Stanton gives four columns on a day fight, Henry J., the famous tobacco-pipe political ruler, five columns on a prize fight, and Horace, six columns on a production of a horse race, or in fact, to the *Herald*, while the *Herald* is the only journal that has had a weekly record for women, and that was com-

castic. Put the argument in a nutshell. Three thousand million dollars and one million lives have come to emancipate four million of blacks. Are eighteen millions of white women and girls not worthy of a kind notice in the New York press? To-day, by man's law, woman is a junior partner in the distinguished disfranchised firm of Minors, Paupers, Lunatics and Idiots. Once they had negroes for companions. But now the negroes vote, woman is left with the other partners! Are not our wives, our daughters, our sisters, our mothers as capable of voting as 700,000 ignorant plantation negroes, or even the Emperors and Queens who have always governed Europe? When man swears at a strong minded woman he intimates that his wife and mother are weak minded women.

#### CHALLENGING THE MUTUAL ADMIRATION SOCIETY.

Phillips, Greeley, Beecher, Curtis and Tilton got Stindwell of the Equal Rights Association to come out ignoring Mrs. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and myself. We happen to be plaintiff in this case, and as these gentlemen are polished debaters, perhaps they will enter the debating arena before a New York audience, and explain why, after twenty years of devotion to the cause of women, they left her the moment the actual battle commenced in Kansas, considering absence of body better than presence of mind; Greeley saving his life by putting his breast-plate on behind. Not having had a university education and somewhat practised in debate, I propose to take the field against the five gentlemen challenged, commencing with Phillips, who can then explain whether it was not a breach of trust to sink so much of the \$50,000 fund of my old friend Hovey in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, that has been twenty years getting up a 2,220 list of subscribers!

#### NOW A WORD WITH YOU, MR. BENNETT.

Twenty years ago, we met when I came to New York to sell Grinnell, Minturn & Co. the Flying Cloud, clipper. I was then a chief of the old house of Enoch Train & Co., having commenced with Donald McKay with the Joshua Bates, four hundred ton clipper, owned in part by Barings, Goodhue & Co., and graduated with the Great Republic, 4,000 tons, sold to A. A. Low & Co. Then you thought me a good business man. Throwing up my fifteen thousand a year, I saw you again just as I was embarking for Australia in May, 1853, where in fourteen months I made one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and had consigned to my house one hundred thousand tons of shipping.

#### "YOUNG AMERICA" CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HERALD.

Then I travelled, and the *Herald* of 1856 has over forty columns of my correspondence under "Young America," which you recommended my publishing in a book, and "Young America Abroad" to-day is in all the circulating libraries of England. Once more I saw you after having, all through 1856-7, written you from abroad, foreboding the financial revolution of '57. I arrived in October of that year, in time to see 1,400 banks fail as I had predicted. You renewed my "Young America" in Wall street, published by Freeman Hunt, and called me a prophet.

#### THE ATLANTIC AND GREAT WESTERN RAILROAD.

That fall (in November) I saw you again, and asked you to help me join the Erie and the Ohio and Mississippi Railroads by the Great Gauge Atlantic and Great Western. You declined to be interested in a projected war, saying that the

*Herald's* business was advertisements and the sale of the paper. That five hundred miles was built and James McHenry and Sir Morton Peto paid me, when they sailed in the Scotia, ninety-eight thousand dollars for my commissions. You had column on column on Peto and McHenry, but not a word on Train—only a sneer. Once more my speeches returned the columns of the *Herald*.

#### PATRIOTISM IN ENGLAND STRONGER THAN THE STREET RAILWAY.

I wrote you showing up the whole block-ading business before the ships had got away, and was driven out of Euglenl and my railroads tipped up because I would not sell my love of country for an English scorch mess of polash. Peterson made ten thousand dollars out of the sale of my Union speeches. That was the time on dit Geo. Peshody, Thurlow Weed and Charles Francis Adams joined hands on the Seward, Mason and Slidell dispatches, to sell out our country on the London Stock Exchange, an unexposed swindle.

#### THE GREAT PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Again, in September, 1863, I called upon you with the subscription paper of the Union Pacific Railroad, \$1,600,000 out of the \$2,000,000 having been subscribed. As we shall be happy to take you out in a Pullman Palace Car three hundred miles west of Wyandotte and Leavenworth, on the Kansas Pacific, or 540 miles west of Omaha, on the Nebraska U. P. Railroad. (We pay you handsomely for advertising it.) You see I have also carried that point. Success is good evidence of success.

#### THE CREDIT MOBILIER ORGANIZED.

In 1864 I called upon you again with my *Credit Mobilier* project; again you turned away. The capital now is \$10,000,000, and owns the Pacific Contract and the stock sells at over 200—having declared 50 to 100 per cent. dividends each year. Yet you put in an article to destroy the enterprise.

#### THE CREDIT FONCIER ORGANIZED.

Then the *Credit Foncier* came up, of which I am president, having among my special co-partners the richest men of the nation; that too was talked down editorially in the *Herald*. So much for what an old friend will do for a fellow. The same with Omaha.

#### FIVE THOUSAND LOTS IN OMAHA.

I own five thousand lots there—where the bridge will cross—ten blocks from my property, the lots are selling for six thousand dollars each. I mention these points to show you, Mr. Bennett, that I am not one of those one-horse lecturers from Harvard University, who pocket, like Gough and Beecher, the quarters of the people, under what they call a christian mission, and also to prove to you for once, you have been mistaken in your man. The proceeds of all my lectures are given away—I paying my own expenses. The other lecturers are disgusted because I am injuring the trade—hence the action of the Equal Rights Committee.

#### GREAT IRISH MEETING IN BOSTON.

Last Wednesday night, at the Tremont Temple, Boston, I spoke to the Irish for the benefit of Mrs. Warren and her four little children, who are starving in *Charenton*, while Captain Warren, who fought for us four years under Thomas Francis Meagher, is dying in an English jail, and Chas. Francis Adams is dining with the English ministers, and Mr. Seward is trading to Lord Stanley about the Alabama claims. The brass was polished with a pad substance (see Boston *Free Press* report), while the same night the *Free Press*

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Hall Grant meeting, free, with all Boston at its back, was a fizzle. As you seldom like to admit yourself in the wrong, the Herald will, most likely, be too crowded to find room for this, so I send it to the new organ of the age, THE REVOLUTION.

Geo. FRANCIS TRAIN.

### A VOICE FROM WALL STREET.

THE following is the last of a series of remarkable letters addressed to Thaddeus Stevens, Senator Dixon and Secretary Chase, by one of the best practical merchant bankers, and one of the wealthiest men of New York. The writer is too well known among the old millionaires of New York, to ask an attentive perusal of his views. The letters speak for themselves, as coming from one of the few practical financiers who, from the first, grasped the condition of our national finances. The other letters will be reproduced in successive numbers of THE REVOLUTION.

New York, November 27th, 1867.

Sir: I see by the public prints that you purpose making a move in relation to the public debt and the currency, which induces me to lay before you my views in relation to both, the which, if useful to you, will be the object I have at heart.

If you will let your secretary collect the assessed value of the property of the United States, you will have a basis to act upon. Let the value be \$1,000,000,000, more or less, bearing in mind that every article in the nation requires a certain representation, in currency, in the amount of from one to ten or more per cent. to move it, without which there must be stagnation in the business and value of the wealth of the nation, as nothing can move without a certain amount of its value in circulating medium. Stocks require at least ten per cent.; real estate, fifteen to twenty per cent.—other articles more or less. You will see by this plan that the currency should exceed any amount which our financiers name as falling short of the sum required to represent the property of the nation, and keep the finances in safe working order. Every move of any article, let it be what it may, requires currency to move it. The banks and the money-lenders object to an expansion, so short currency enhances their gains and rate of interest.

I think 1,000,000,000 or 2,000,000,000 of legal tender greenbacks will not be an over-estimate required for the business of the nation; the balance of the national debt should be paid in legal tender bonds, bearing interest, in sums of from \$100 to \$10,000—the small bonds for the people, the large bonds for investment, for trust funds held by the courts or funds for minors, or gifts to single women—it will be the safest and least expensive way, and, at four per cent. per annum, will, I think, all be absorbed in a few years by the American people, without foreign aid. The possession of the now outstanding bonds, I propose to acquire by purchase in the open market, and at the current market price; the premium will be cheaper to the people even at 30 per cent., as for once only, whereas, now it costs us a much higher premium annually for all that we consume.

These greenbacks should be made payable in forty years in the legal currency of the United States, and the interest on the bonds payable in the same at the office of the United States Treasury, in each of the cities in which the government may appoint an agency.

The import duties should be paid in greenbacks, in a sliding scale, in proportion to the purchase of the outstanding gold bonds—the outstanding bonds bearing interest in the United States currency can remain as they are—the object is to do away with the gold bonds only and bring about the much-desired wish of the country—the currency for the people and the government—and reduce the value of all the material for building and manufacturing purposes, as the present rates prohibit the progress of the country.

Respectfully, your most ob't.

Geo. F. TRAIN.

REVEREND BROTHERS, in demanding universal suffrage and universal amnesty from Maine to Louisiana, has touched the key-note of reconstruction. In his far-reaching wisdom he told

abolitionists two years ago, ask the whole host and you will get half; "bait your hook with a woman and you may get a negro." But abolitionists fell back to the Republican ranks, and the late elections rise up in judgment against them.

### DAYLIGHT AT LAST.

AMERICAN industry, American manufactures, American ideas begin to be great facts. The sun is shining. The great Irish constituency is being educated to the true way of gaining their victory over England. What is party where a nation's prosperity is at stake. The *Iron Age* does well to copy the *Chicago Irish Republic*. The article is worthy of THE REVOLUTION, and we set it whirling along the line of our first Ten Thousand Subscribers, comprising Cabinet, Senate, Congress, the American manufacturers, and the Wall street bankers and brokers. In a city where the *Times* and *Tribune* are sapping the foundations of the nation, we hail, with pleasure, the advanced thought of the *Irish Republic*.

From John Williams' *Iron Age*.

"We take the following extract from a trenchant article which appeared in a late number of the *Chicago Irish Republic*, on the subject of 'Irish support of Free Trade with England.' Coming from an Irish journal, and whose true loyalty to the cause of Irish independence is so well established, we hope the words of faithful counsel herein contained will be heeded by the thousands of Irish workmen who have been so long and so strangely misled as to their true interests in regard to this matter of Protection to American Industry against the competition of Great Britain:

"We have already spoken of the Republican party. We have admitted, without hesitation, that they are far from immaculate. Here and there a black sheep is only too conspicuously evident in the centre, if not sometimes at the head, of the flock. The Judas appears among the twelve, and carries the bag of his bribery with an unabashed countenance. There are some such disreputable instances. These are your Radical (?) advocates of your Free Trade with England. But, after all, they are little more than exceptions to the general rule. The leading journals and most prominent politicians of the great Republican party of America are true, heart and soul, to the protection of their country's industry. They are resolved that not England, but America, shall be the world's vast manufactory; that they will keep the wealth of their country to enrich their own citizens, not to aggrandize the bloody, bloated aristocracies of Europe; that they will preserve for their own workmen such wages as will enable them to live and rear their families in comfort and intelligence, as human beings ought, instead of sending it across the sea to be squandered by spendthrift lords and squires in the gambling halls of London and Paris. They are resolved that honest and industrious men in America shall be protected, and not left the naked victims of an infernal system which has fed and clothed and lodged their brothers in England and Ireland worse—tenfold worse—than the horses and dogs of English aristocrats. This is the simple, practical meaning of Protection to American Industry. This is the great, the principle and the practice of that very Radical party, which hundreds of thousands of Irishmen would no more think of voting for, or supporting, than they would think of selling their souls to the author of evil himself. That is, in plain words, they are *entirely opposed to the interests of their own country, of their own wives and children, of their own wages, of the very bread they eat, and the raiment wherewith they are clothed.* They go right, and most enthusiastically in support of the wealth and power of England, of that country whose rulers have robbed them of everything but life; that have made them beggars and slaves in the land of their birth; that have banished millions of them into exile and the grave; and carried them with their wives and young ones to the ends of the earth. We again ask, and demand an answer, *was ever indignation so complete as this? Were ever quarrels between man and man more*

obstinate so unpardonably bitter as they are here?

"We are sorry to say that we can find no excellent exception to break the force of the condemnation which, in connection with the vital question, we are obliged to pass on the entire Democratic party. Free trade with England lies at the very foundation of the great Conservative structure. This is a cardinal doctrine of their peculiar political creed. Nor is there a single Democratic journal, from New York to San Francisco, which does not teach, from week to week, and from day to day, this destructive and disgraceful principle. And if there is any truth, which we greatly doubt, in the boasted 'reaction' which has been so much spoken of, and if there is any rational chance of the Democratic party once more assuming the rule of this great Republic, then one thing may be looked forward to as an absolute certainty, and that is Free Trade with England. This will have a few effects which is worth the while of thinking to ponder seriously, before by their votes and influence they bring it to pass. One will be to reduce the wages of the workmen one-half, so that those who find it difficult at present to live in New York or Chicago on two dollars a day, will have the pleasure of accomplishing the same task, under the new English-Free-Trade-Democratic regime, with one. It will strengthen England, by pouring into her coffers the wealth of America, so that her reign of robbery and blood, instead of coming to a close, will, like the eagle, renew its age for another century or two, or perhaps for another seven hundred years as Ireland has seen and felt. And on that unhappy country its effect will necessarily be to rivet its chains, to increase and perpetuate its hunger and rage and wretchedness, and, probably, to enable its eternal enemy, England, to root the last Celt from Irish soil, and thus to extinguish the race and the faith of the old land together. We do not envy the Irishman who helps to accomplish such an object as this, nor would we like to inherit the harrowing reflection which must gnaw his soul like the undying worm, that the infamous deed was performed by his own hands."

### GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN

BEFORE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AT ALBANY.

NOTHING is more marked than the persistent ignoring of every item favorable to the cause of Woman's Suffrage by the New York press. The Kansas campaign, the most remarkable in the history of the world, from the fact that the first nine thousand votes ever cast for the emancipation of woman were thrown there, was hardly noticed by the journals of this city. The miserable trimming-on-the-fence-will-it-be-popular policy of our journals is destitute of all independent thinking. Although we may not agree with many things that may appear in THE REVOLUTION, we believe in fair play and giving everybody a chance. Whichever one hundred columns of reports of the great meetings held by Mrs. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Geo. Francis Train in the great cities of the country, during the last thirty days, have been laid before their readers by the enterprising newspapers of Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, the anti-women, old foggy cities of Albany, Boston and New York have generally dismissed the subject with a few lines of ridicule.

The western journals have the manhood to report the speeches, whether they agree with them or not—while the sea-shore papers are too busy in getting up long reports of the last dog bait, prize fight, or pedestrian wager, or in extensive quotations from the English press, giving good advice how America should be governed.

The Constitutional Convention at Albany has not had many variations from its customary slate of topics, but it is a noteworthy fact that no New York paper mentioned that Geo. Francis Train addressed the convention for two hours on the subject of woman voting and the financial policy of the nation. Mr. Train having



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been the only advocate to volunteer his services in Kansas and before the Convention. It is worthy of note, when the only argument advanced by our chivalrous press is a sneer, a sarcasm, or an insult, that Mr. Train's defence of women voting was received by the Convention by loud and repeated applause. The following was the resolution passed unanimously offering the hall:

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION,  
ALBANY, December 1, 1867.

On motion of Mr. RALLAND:  
Resolved, That the use of the Assembly Chamber be granted to Geo. Francis Train, Esq., at 4 p.m., this day.  
By order.

LUTHER CALDWELL, Secretary.

When it comes to pass that Mr. Train's financial views, as expressed in his Gold-room speech of last March (to be reprinted in next week's paper), become the policy of the country, newspapers may possibly be more enterprising, and the associated press be more inclined to give actual news than the favored articles of a few politicians in the ring.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN WISCONSIN.

THE women of Wisconsin have decided to take the word "male" from their constitution. From the report of a recent convention held in Janesville, we find the leading men and women have formed a State Impartial Suffrage organization, and are resolved to make all their citizens equal before the law. Able addresses were made by the Rev. S. Farrington, Rev. Sumner Ellis, and a stirring appeal adopted to the people of the State, signed by Hon. J. T. Dow, G. B. Flickox, Mrs. J. H. Stillman, Joseph Baker and Mrs. F. Harris Reed.

**FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN BOSTON.**—The *Banner of Light* reports Music Hall well filled on Monday evening, December 8th, to listen to remarks from George Francis Train, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony, on Female Suffrage. Mr. Train was very severe on politicians of all parties. He announced himself as an independent candidate for presidential honors. In the course of his three speeches he told many plain truths, and made a good argument in favor of the right of suffrage for women.

Mrs. Stanton is a fine looking, dignified, intelligent lady, well advanced in years, and a good speaker. She gave a brief account of their recent labors in Kansas, where the cause of female suffrage received nine thousand votes, which she considered a great triumph—for hereafter, she said, no party can succeed in that State without affiliation with the new element which has arisen in their midst, thus securing the success of the woman question in a very short time.

Miss Anthony is a pleasant and fluent speaker. Both ladies made strong and convincing arguments in favor of the right of female suffrage.

**A HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE NEAR CENTRAL PARK.**—A thousand drug shops—ten thousand Allopaths—five thousand Homoeopaths—a score of medical colleges but no Hydropathic Institute in a city numbering a million of souls! Yes, Kunkowich, the President of America, and Dr. North, so long a time with Schellenger, are making cures at their establishment, 44 Bond st., where Mr. Train picks and plunges his friends. But what we need is a splendid Institute, and we

are glad to learn that several wealthy Hydropaths intend erecting such a building.

### THE OFFICIAL VOTE OF KANSAS.

9,070 FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

JUST as we go to press, we receive from the editor of the *Leavenworth Commercial*, the official vote of Kansas. The vote for woman's suffrage is larger than the most sanguine of us had hoped, being 9,070 for, and 19,857 against it. The black man, with all the machinery of the Republican party in his favor, runs only 436 votes ahead of the women! Hurrah for Kansas! The following is a statement of the official vote on the various propositions to amend the Constitution of Kansas, as canvassed by the State Board of Canvassers, December 16th, A.D. 1867:

Counties.	Striking out the word White.		Striking out the word Male.		Restricting the elective franchise.	
	For.	Against.	For.	Against.	For.	Against.
Allen.....	324	266	843	303	454	113
Anderson.....	226	259	218	278	321	133
Atchison.....	412	1,181	245	1,226	736	804
Bourbon.....	556	745	664	736	1,350	33
Boys.....	265	348	368	341	34	222
Butler.....	23	76	25	16	26	64
Chase.....	120	132	118	128	164	63
Clay.....	47	53	39	86	78	32
Crawford.....	60	139	46	150	150	41
Chester.....	290	186	249	239	234	119
Coffey.....	79	434	294	339	272	364
Cloud.....	183	368	167	361	361	364
Davis.....	89	92	2	143	177	1
Dickinson.....	336	1,425	358	1,397	676	1,120
Doniphan.....	1,017	1,147	603	1,454	1,464	635
Douglas.....	280	439	120	109	652	175
Ellis.....	132	198	99	196	234	66
Franklin.....	174	643	103	287	501	310
Greenwood.....	292	1,119	335	1,168	649	804
Johnson.....	400	893	826	946	850	438
Lafayette.....	118	313	56	217	207	134
Leavenworth.....	830	2,703	1,538	1,775	1,135	789
Lyon.....	346	796	348	721	737	178
Lyons.....	608	373	304	565	761	92
Marion.....	19	68	16	69	16	76
Marshall.....	167	421	160	411	301	229
Miami.....	486	366	248	670	850	412
Morris.....	48	212	66	209	11	190
Nemaha.....	251	421	221	427	398	178
Neosho.....	151	322	101	367	246	180
Ogawa.....	27	143	121	236	225	113
Osage.....	27	27	34	32	67	15
Ottawa.....	44	27	34	32	67	15
Pottawatomie.....	230	406	156	501	352	328
Riley.....	251	277	218	279	377	367
Shawnee.....	431	879	439	731	900	254
Saline.....	162	219	112	233	259	123
Wabasha.....	149	106	114	153	240	28
Washington.....	59	118	19	143	93	78
Woodson.....	86	159	48	179	122	81
Wyandotte.....	149	68	141	91	187	56
Wyandotte.....	159	826	168	799	936	779
Total.....	10,843	19,421	9,070	19,857	16,836	12,165

\* No returns.

We, the undersigned State Board of Canvassers, do hereby certify that the above is a true statement of the votes cast at the general election held on the 8th day of November, A.D. 1867, for the various propositions to amend the Constitution of the State, as appears from the certified abstracts on file in the office of Secretary of State, and do determine and declare that the two propositions for striking out the words White and Male from the Constitution of the State were defeated, and that the proposition submitted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas at its last session to amend Sec. 2, Article 6, of the Constitution of the State, was adopted.

E. J. CALVERT, Gov.  
E. A. BARRETT, Secy of State.  
J. R. SWALLOW, Auditor of State.  
M. A. BARNES, Treasurer of State.  
Geo. A. BOTT, Attorney-General.

Topeka, Kansas, Dec. 16, 1867.

**COLUMBIA JURY.**—A special court composed of the New York Tribune, writing from St. Augustine, Florida, Dec. 17, states: "The United States District and Circuit Courts for Northern

Florida, Judge Fraser presiding, adjourned to-day. Seventeen colored men and six whites were drawn on the Grand Jury. Although drawn promiscuously from the registered voters of three counties, fourteen out of the seventeen colored men could read, and six could both read and write. Judge Fraser complimented the Grand Jury as the most attentive, intelligent, and industrious body of persons which had been assembled in many years. The foreman reported that he had sat upon no jury distinguished for better order and decorum in the jury room, or who better realized the responsibility of their duties."

### COLORADO AND WALL STREET.

TRAIN is waking up Wall Street to the importance of backing Colorado in her railroad enterprises. When the railroad is under way, and the greenback age is a fact, hurrah for our gold mines again. See what the New York *World's* financial article, says December 3:

"The prospect of a railroad being completed to Denver during next summer is encouraging to all connected with the mining interests of Colorado, as both roads to the Pacific coast are bidding for the mining business. Last year, twenty-three merchants in Denver paid \$1,204,141 for transportation of 12,173,251 lbs. of freight, and it is estimated that other merchants paid out \$1,000,000, and Central and Georgetown about \$2,000,000, making a total of about \$4,200,000, a sum sufficient to ruin the prospects of any region of our country. The Union Pacific Railroad from Cheyenne, only 218 miles from Denver, is pushing for it; and also John D. Poiry, of the Eastern Division, a distance of 30 miles, is determined to connect his road with it. The question whether the terminus of the road shall be at Pine Bluffs, forty miles east of Cheyenne, is not yet definitely settled. The completion of these roads will revolutionize the gold and silver mining interests, and it is likely again to revive the gold mining future of 1864, only on a sound and profitable basis, which it lacked then."

That's so. We can turn out one hundred millions as well as twenty every year. We want more currency—more money. Legal tenders will do for money; and we will sell our gold as we would our corn, as merchandise.

George Francis Train's speeches are telling on Congress. Already McCulloch has stopped contraction. About time, when sixty thousand laborers are out of work in New York.—*Rocky Mountain News*, December 9.

THE murder of a mulatto family at Perdido Station, Alabama, was perpetrated by a party of four drunken men armed with shot guns, who charged the family with stealing. The assassins first butchered the mulatto Morris, then his wife, then his mother, aged 80, and lastly a sleeping babe. They finished by firing the house, but after their departure the flames were extinguished by a young girl who had crawled herself. Four men have been arrested on suspicion, but murders are of so common occurrence there, as that criminal courts would have to be in perpetual session to try the cases; and so, for the most part, they are economically neglected.

A RECENT issue of the New York *World* says:

"The largest contractor ever charged on any railroad transaction, is in process of settlement. The claim so far is about \$500,000, and when the road is completed it will be about \$1,000,000. A \$400,000 contract for the road is to be made by the State of New York. The contractor is to be paid for the road, and what else. The contractor is to be paid for the road, and what else. The contractor is to be paid for the road, and what else."

THE Lawrence Tribune says that the shops of the Union Pacific Railroad, now building at that place, will far surpass, in magnitude and completeness, anything of the kind which have yet been built west of the Missouri.

# The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.  
PARKER FILLABURY.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1868.

## SALUTATORY.

A new paper is the promise of a new thought; of something better or different, at least, from what has gone before.

With the highest idea of the dignity and power of the press, this journal is to represent no party, sect, or organization, but individual opinion; editors and correspondents alike, all writing, from their own stand point, and over their own names. The enfranchisement of woman is one of the leading ideas that calls this journal into existence. Seeing, in its realization, the many necessary changes in our modes of life, we think "THE REVOLUTION" a fitting name for a paper that will advocate so radical a reform as this involves in our political, religious and social world.

With both man and woman in the editorial department, we shall not have masculine and feminine ideas alone, but united thought on all questions of national and individual interest.

But we do not promise the millennium in journalism, from this experiment, or in politics from the enfranchisement of woman, only a new, and, we hope, a better phase of existence, which, to those who are tired of the old grooves in which the world has run so long, is something to be welcomed in the future. With the moral chaos that surrounds us on every side, the corruption in the State, the dissensions in the church, the jealousies in the home, what thinking mind does not feel that we need something new and revolutionary in every department of life. Determined to do our part in pushing on the car of progress we begin with the new year, a new life work, hoping the world will be the better for the birth of "THE REVOLUTION."

## THE PRESS—RETROSPECTIVE

Philosophers tell us the Circle is the symbol of all nature and all art. Mr. Emerson says the eye is the first circle; the horizon it describes the second. And throughout nature this primary figure is ever repeated; the highest emblem in the cypher of the world.

In the old Hieroglyphs, the circle represented Eternity. An ancient saint and sage described the Infinite Omnipresence as a circle whose centre was everywhere, and whose circumference was nowhere.

Action too is circular; and around every great and good deed, a greater and better may be drawn. Children are puzzled to know how four living sheep can be folded in five pens at the same time. They draw the four with a sheep in each and there stop, till the boy or girl

in the secret, draws a large pen enclosing in it the other four, and solves the mystery.

Outside our little Solar System sweeps another as a text were in the illimitable sea of space, and beyond that a second, bearing the same proportion, it may be, to the first, that our sun and its suite of attendant planets do to the eye-ball of the astronomer who beholds and describes them. And thus outward and onward through space as measureless as duration is endless.

And should not also the same law measure human thought? We laugh at the story of the miller who denied that the earth was round and revolving, because that, he said, would spill his mill pond like water from an overturned bowl; and yet why laugh? Sceptics to the divinity of human nature, have ever declared and with too much reason, that human history but repeats itself. That the moral and spiritual world completes its regular revolutions, and only comes back to the same point at last. That the tide of human thought and progression has its impassable high water mark; and like the rolling sea, is flood on one side only at the expense of ebb on the other. The "Lost Arts" lecture by Wendell Phillips is a sad if not satirical comment on the present, and half explains the secret of his wondrous prophetic gift.

It is said that no man can quite emancipate himself from his age and surroundings; that the politics, usages, education and even religion of his times must have some share in his work. But the tendency of our time is wholly toward the past. Our artists are great only as they best imitate the old models. An evangel that should promise resurrection of all the ancient statues, and summon them to a judgment day, would, to our schools of art, outweigh in importance the whole theological dogma of "resurrection of the body," and future rewards and punishments besides. The sparrow, forty centuries ago, builded as well in the cedars of Lebanon, and in the pediments of the temple on Mount Zion, as in the groves and gardens of to day. So the Acropolis and Parthenon mock all the architecture of the boasting nineteenth century. As the best saint is he who best imitates the Nazarene model of eighteen hundred years ago, so our best poet must be made to believe, that could he but touch the hem of Homer's garment, he would thenceforth glow with inspirations unknown to him before.

Our politics and religion too, do but revolve in circles, tending ever inward hitherto, as into maelstroms and the bottomless pit. And yet what are these but the sublime sciences which treat of the conditions of the human race, here and hereafter? A painter of the Panorama of the Mississippi river said he was surprised one bright evening, when drifting down the stream, at the similarity of the houses he passed; and the more, as in every one, there seemed to be exactly the same dancing, music and merry-making. At length he discovered that he had floated into a whirlpool, not unknown there, and was only sweeping round and round by the same house. Much like this, is the intellectual and spiritual navigation of nations and governments, churches and religions. Persecution chased the Pilgrims and Puritans from one hemisphere to become themselves fiery persecutors in the other. Our revolutionary fires unyoked themselves from one tyranny only to begin another themselves, a thousand times more rigorous than that out of which they fled. Even in Britain, the same newspapers that first glowed with the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, grained also with advertisements for the sale of one slave, and the recapture of another who had run away, with generous reward offered. Even President George Washington hunted a slave mother from the Potomac to the Piscataqua, instructing his emissaries to bound her back to her whipping-post unless it should seem to wake the public calumny.

To prolong such a slavery and union with its tyrants we have waged the bloodiest war of all the ages. In the name of a Republican, Democratic and Christian Constitution, and a Union with slaveholders, we have offered more human victims than have bled on all the heathen altars of the world in a thousand years! And though the terrible system has gone down in the fiery storm, at least in name, every hour is revealing more and more how nearly our whole nationality was involved in the fall, and how far we yet are from the end of the conflict. And with a Newspaper Press in the country numbering six or seven thousand, the most terrible truths do not get told. The people are stumbling in more than the storied darkness of Egypt, if not also hastening to all its plagues.

In the hope of aiding to rescue our beloved country from still impending dangers, and to bring a peace based on Justice and Equality, and a prosperity that shall gild all our mountains and valleys, our plains and prairies with grandeur and glory unknown before among the nations, we to day unfurl our banner to a waiting and expectant world.

F. F.

**THE REVOLUTION.**—The name speaks its purpose. It is to revolutionize. It is radicalism, practical, not theoretical. It is to effect changes through abolitions, reconstructions and restorations. It is to realize ancient visions, answer long uttered prayers and fulfil old prophecies. Former things are passing away. Old Faiths, Philosophies and Philanthropies are to be extended, and new principles discovered and applied to human enfranchisement. New America is discovered. The march of empire in literature, science, commerce and all material interests, is onward as never before. But there is more than these. Justice, truth, virtue, must be our new foundations. More than slavery is to be abolished. More than suffrage is to be given to man and to woman. Carlyle said when Louis XV. died, more died than a king. The kingship had also given up the ghost. So in the new life, it is man and manliness, woman and all womanly virtues and exaltations that are to be sought. *Wiser* hereafter is to mean more than a creature who is in the market with his ballot and butbright on election morning, seeking for bidders. A nation of such citizens might number millions of millions, but its numerical grandeur would be its disgrace. What should be its glory would be only its shame. Such are ever the dupes of the demagogue, to subserve his base designs, to the subversion of all honor, integrity and stability in government. An intelligent suffrage based on man and woman alike, will soon arrest the reckless career of many who in the name of democracy, republicanism and patriotism are rushing the dismembered fragments of our nationality on to a still deeper ruin.

**OUR PERSPECT.**—This is the first edition of Ten Thousand, of the first number of THE REVOLUTION; sent to all the leading minds of the nation, including among its subscribers, in Congress, Senators B. F. Wade, Sumner, Wilson, Kyo, Fowler; and Representatives Colles,

## The Revolution.

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Jehan, Banks, and others; also the President of the United States. Read this and see if it be not worth your effort to extend it everywhere.

### REVOLUTION.

"*REVOLUTION*," says Goldwin Smith, "is a public evil. The secret of wise statesmanship is the art of securing calm and regular progress in its place. The energy which revolutions call forth is paid for by the lassitude and political infidelity which follow them. The great spirits of the English revolution were succeeded by the corrupt and licentious men who rose into power under Charles II. The moral elements in the French revolution were lost in the chicanery of Napoleon and Talleyrand. But the prime movers of revolution are not the fanatics of progress, but the blind and intemperate opposers of progress, men who strive to recall the irrevocable past, with no sense of inevitable future, who chase to fury, by damming up its course, the stream that would otherwise flow on tranquilly within its banks."

The true statesman is the true reformer; he who brings himself into line with the immutable law of change recognizes the necessary steps of progress and thus secures individual and national growth rather than vice and revolution. Men speak of revolutions as moral powers, that lift nations to higher planes of action, forgetting that war and disorder are not in harmony with fixed law, but the result of some irregularity or violation of the natural order of events. Revolutions are disease, sores on the body politic, that warn us of corruption at the heart of the nation; not creative but depletive forces. Small pox and fevers are renovators for the diseased, but the true physician teaches the laws of life and so purifies the physical man that contagion has nothing on which to feed. So the statesman, seeing that progress is the law of life, substitutes education for repression, science for superstition, and thus exalts manhood and government.

Our Fathers left England for an idea: the equality of all men; proclaimed it on these western shores, fought to secure it, but in haste for peace and Union forgot the idea for which they fought. Under a century of crime and corruption they buried it deep down, but fresh from the resurrection of another revolution, the same tough problem of "individual rights" stands face to face with us to-day.

Another lesson, added to the many in the long past, to show that man is above laws and constitutions; that the corner-stone of a nation is justice—the rights of its humblest citizens. The moral effect of our last revolution is already nearly lost in the confused councils and vacillating action of our leaders, in the lethargy and political infidelity that ever follow war and violence. Even our reformers seem to have lost their prophetic vision, and in their demands for a partial idea, have sacrificed a fundamental principle. Flushed with conquest, wild with speculation, reckless in expenditure; principle, justice, mercy, all the sweet amenities of life, are sacrificed to party triumph, to material considerations. Instead of keeping up the grand debate on the rights of citizens in a republic, which is the basis of sound reconstruction, our leaders talk of "negro suffrage," "impeachment," "protection," "finance," and the "presidency," all of light consideration compared with the broader question, what constitutes a citizen? and on what principle are educated, wealthy, patriotic citizens taxed without representation, governed without their consent? The demoralization of our best minds to-day is but another proof that no good fruits are to be gathered from revolutions. How close is the analogy to the moral and physical world. When

by a sudden storm the tree is rudely stripped of its foliage, nature, shocked at the violence, puts forth harder leaves that cling far into the winter, but thus taxed there comes no blossoms in the spring, no fruit in the harvest.

But as the tree without violence sheds its leaves only in the new growth, puts forth its flowers, and fruits, in their season, so might nations with wise rulers, leave the dead letters of the past and in calm, regular steps of progress secure the health and happiness of the people and their own life and immortality. 2. C. A.

### THE PRESS—PROSPECTIVE

A few years since Mr. Buckle startled the world with some comparisons on the relative importance of moral and intellectual culture in the development and elevation of human nature. He declared truly that there was nothing in the world that has undergone so little change as the great moral dogmas of which religions and philanthropic institutions are composed. And though they have been known for thousands of years, not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce. Sir James Macintosh, certainly one of the clearest and yet profoundest philosophers of the last two centuries, denies the possibility of their advance, and boldly insists that morality admits of no discoveries. It is stationary, and must ever remain so. In the latter opinion both these eminent writers agree; and the world has seemed to presume, that not only can there be no new discoveries in the science of morals, but that their rules and laws admit of no new applications. Macintosh further says that more than three thousand years have elapsed since the composition of the Pentateuch, and then challenges any man to show in what important respect the rule of life has been varied since that period. The Institutes of Menu lead to the same conclusion, and the doctrines of Confucius, Pythagoras, or Zoroaster will not change it. And so slavery and war, capital punishment, intemperance, infanticide, and the degradation of woman, may continue throughout all generations. If in forty centuries not one of these evils has been arrested and banished from the world, when will their end be? The triumphs of Judaism and Christianity have been as powerless against them as the so-called false religions that abound in every age. No day, no civilized nation ever witnessed more drunkenness than ours; none surely such diabolical determination to continue the curse, despite all laws, human and divine. Sinai and Calvary, Moses, Messiah and the American Congress cannot quench the volcanic fire of our legion of distilleries. Slavery we only abolished as a "Military Necessity," to save ourselves, not the slaves. It was to conquer the rebels. And to conciliate them, we have by Constitutional Amendment again placed them back almost as completely in their power as before, by making possible their perpetual disfranchisement.

And now we are laboring to rebuild our national ruins. To all appearance, however, we are getting worse and worse. A year ago last autumn, Congress appealed to the people to decide the contest between it and the President as to policies of reconstruction. Immediately the thunder of Radical Republican victories shook the continent from ocean to ocean. But to how little result, is told in the present confusion in the national councils. No wonder that the re-

verses in so many recent state elections! No wonder that the best men of all classes and parties are alarmed! No wonder that the President laughs at impeachment, and hurls new defiance at a Congress whose cowardice, grown chronic, and named or misnamed *cravenus*, is almost worn as ornament, like the goitre of the poor Tyrolean.

And now the one, sole cause of the present calamity can be told in a word. *The nation will not do justice.* It will not even apply the acknowledged rules of morality, to say nothing of discovering newer and sublime codes, supposed impossible by all the philosophers and moralists of the past. We cannot restore the Union, because there never was a Union; a terrible truth yet to be known. Slavery bound and held the states together as in the folds of a serpent, for purposes of trade, and for plunder of unpaid, unpitied slaves whom the South owned, but the North held; and together they divided the spoil, until Infinite Patience could bear it no longer. That was our Union.

Suffrage is now to be *gradually* given to the negro, as was freedom, if given at all. And as to woman—no matter how rich, refined, and patriotic, how obedient to the government, and prompt in its support in peace and war—the reproach of inferiority must cleave to her, it is religiously believed, in all her generations. Two thousand years ago it was said and is still believed: "the abuses and corruptions which in time destroy a government, are sown in the very seeds of it, and both grow together; and as rust eats away iron and as worms devour wood, and both are a sort of plagues born and bred with the substance they destroy, so with every form and scheme of government *these two can* invent, some vice or corruption creeps in with the very institution, which grows up along with and at last destroys it."

And late in the nineteenth century this is the belief of the most enlightened nations. The press and the pulpit, as well as the education and commerce, are shrouded in this general darkness. If, as has been so long held, these views are just and true, the advent of *THE REVOLUTION* to-day is vain. But in the confident belief that there are new and sublimer rules of morality to be discovered, and new and greatly enlarged applications of the old, which shall add immensely to the stock both of individual and national growth, prosperity and happiness, we commend it to the favorable consideration of the public. P. F.

### ARE WE A SLAVEHOLDING NATION?

"THE thirty-fourth national anti-slavery subscription anniversary to be held in Boston on the 22d of January, 1868."

Reading the above, signed by forty of the noblest women in the land, we felt more than ever the degradation of our sex. With black men already at the ballot-box, exercising the right of suffrage, in constitutional conventions, framing the fundamental laws of States, in courts of justice, pleading at the bar, and sitting in the jury-box, in the Legislature of Massachusetts, making statutes for the daughters of the Pilgrims, clerics everywhere of the great Republican party—while woman is denied the rights of citizenship, taxed without representation, crowded out of the world of work, driven to prostitution or starvation, ranked in the constitutions of all the States with idiots, lunatics, criminals and paupers—her demands ignored by radical politicians and reformers—



denied even the moral right of petition, insulted in the Senate of the United States by Massachusetts' prominent men—does not a proper self-respect demand that to-day we remember ourselves and the nation's need of the moral power of woman in her political councils?

An anti-slavery organization, with an anti-slavery paper, after slavery is abolished throughout the nation, is an anomaly. And for the forty noble women who have labored thirty-four years to lift the black man to their own level, there is a broader work to-day than to exalt him above their own heads. What would be thought of Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips, and Gerrit Smith, if, disfranchised and degraded as women are, they should hold anti-slavery festivals to give black men what they were denied themselves? or if they willingly yielded to the most ignorant strata of manhood the right to legislate on all their interests at the polls?

E. C. S.

### REIGN OF TERROR.

THE first cry against the Abolitionists when inaugurating their movement against slavery in 1830, was, you will recollect the horrors of St. Domingo. The answer to that was, "It was not abolition that produced the bloody scenes enacted there, but an attempt to reinstate slavery." Slavery was abolished in this country without one drop of blood shed by its victims through any insubordination whatever. In every place where the Freedmen had the least encouragement to labor and to educate their children and improve their condition generally, they surprised even their enemies as well as delighted their friends by their improvement. But their wrongs are not yet redressed. The word *justice* has not yet been spoken in their behalf. Of their former masters, of course nothing could reasonably be expected. Deprived of the earnings of their unpaid victims, on which they and their families have subsisted so long, they have more than enough to do to provide for themselves. Still less can the Democracy, the long-proved allies of the slaveholders be expected to do more or other than hinder this course of humanity, whenever or wherever it shall extend a kindly hand. The Freedmen's Bureau has effected something, but might have done vastly more had it not been basely perverted to purposes almost as wicked as slavery itself by the party in power. And now has indeed commenced a "reign of terror," which if not speedily arrested will reproduce St. Domingo in every State and city of the South. Starvation stares almost everybody there fully in the face. The woes of the whites have begun. The woes of the slaves are not past. Left to themselves, and all well armed, general destruction must ensue. It is complementary to human nature that the blacks have been as patient as they have so long as they have, under all the grievances they have suffered. To disarm the entire South would not prevent the torch of the incendiary, nor the midnight assassin. Ship's crews have been starved into eating one another. Even Scripture tells of more than one mother boiling and eating her babe. Ina nation sickened at the prospect in the South. The sun of the best spring may shine on graves and rains that will shade the page of history with gloom unknown before. If Nero killed while Rome burned, his horrible cruelty and heartlessness are nearly paralleled by our own politicians, who in their reckless determination to keep themselves in power, are sacrificing not only the negro race at the South, but so far as

they have the power, all the best and truest interests of the nation.

The following is one of a multitude of testimonies to the justice and importance of these suggestions and words of warning. It is from a *Traders' correspondence* in Mississippi, dated:

—MARSHEN STATION, December 17, 1867.

"Tell us how things are with you. Down this way money is very tight. Dollars & signs at New Orleans. Cotton is on the decline. The British have us out on cotton. They have built up their own cotton fields and raised ours.

"They are no longer dependent on us for that staple and will never be again. They are smart; but what fools we, to be so hoodwinked by them. People through this region are broke generally.

"The negroes are stealing cattle, sheep, hogs, and killing them to get something to eat. The planters are all broke, and the negroes can find no employment. When turned off, their rations stop, and, having nothing to buy provisions with, they take to stealing.

"But as that can't last, the negroes break from the plantations to the towns and cities. Thousands of them are without adequate shelter from the weather, and don't know where their next meal will come from.

"In the towns and cities they huddle together like pigs, where, of course, morals and shame are unknown. It is estimated that in this district from 30,000 to 50,000 will perish from hunger, exposure, and destitution this winter.

"And next year, what of it? Tax or no tax, there will be little cotton raised. It will no longer pay to raise cotton. I doubt if even a bounty of two and-a-half cents a pound, instead of a tax of that amount, would stimulate production.

"It is too late. The goose that laid the golden egg has been strangled by British cunning, and the day of American cotton is past, never to return.

"Many white families have left this State for Illinois and other North-western States, where there are no negroes to steal all that the farm produces. Other families will follow."

### WASHINGTON.

THE following correspondence grew out of Miss Anthony's application for the House of Representatives, for a meeting on Woman's Suffrage, just after Rev. Newman Hall was refused the privilege:

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C., December 19th, 1867.

MISS ANTHONY: Your letter is just received, and I see by it you are not aware of the rule adopted by the XXXIXth Congress and still in force. So frequent were the applications for the use of the Representative Hall, and so difficult to say "No" to any one when others were granted the privilege, the House unanimously adopted the following rule:

"The Hall of the House shall not be used for any other purpose than the legitimate business of the House; nor shall the Speaker entertain any proposition to use it for any other purpose, or for the suspension of this rule."

This does not exclude preaching on the Sabbath, but in regard to all week day meetings it has been inflexibly observed since its adoption, and you will see that I am prohibited from entertaining a motion to suspend it.

Respectfully yours,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

NEW YORK, December 24th, 1867.

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX—Dear Sir: I am glad to see, by your note, that the rule adopted by the XXXIXth Congress does not prevent our using the Hall of Representatives on Sunday evening. Will you please secure it to us for January 12th, or, if that is objected, name the earliest Sunday evening it can be at our service for George Francis Train to speak on, Woman, as the one of great power now needed to promote the cause of Temperance, Morals and Religion, and Mrs. E. C. Cady Stanton on the Little Republic of Woman.

I can understand why you refused Mr. Newman Hall the House, as there are few Americans who would have had the assurance to ask for the British House of Commons.

Yours, respectfully,

EDWARD B. ARTHUR.

Forty-Two Revolutions will make a splendid volume. As all the papers are cut and stitched, all you have to do is to read them and lay them aside to bind at the end of the year. THE REVOLUTION will be an important book of reference.

### A NEW PARTY.

WE are told in well-informed quarters, that a portion of the Republicans contemplate a new organization at the next presidential election. They entered the party solely to carry out their ideas respecting slavery. This having been accomplished, and the work of reconstruction being on the eve of consummation, they expect nothing more from the party, and are unwilling to remain with it merely to aid its leaders in obtaining the spoils of office. They propose to take a fresh start, a new point of departure, throwing off the worn out ideas and policies of the past, and striking out for the great future. We are further informed that the names mentioned for their candidates are such as Senator Wade, or Gen. Butler, or Gen. Logan, for the presidency, with Frederick Douglass for the vice-presidency. It is contemplated that Mr. Douglass shall stump the South, and the leaders in the movement believe they can carry the entire negro vote, while at the North they expect to break up existing parties and secure to themselves an important share of the *debris* of all. Such a party will stand too good a chance to win to be treated with contempt even at its outset.

HALT! DISARM THE SOUTH, BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE—Starvation makes men mad. There is fierce hatred in the minds of men. The South impoverished, is frenzied. Men black and white use fire arms. Poor Dick Busteed is shot, and negro minstrels with white faces and black hearts, and black faces and white hearts, kill each other in front of the Fifth Avenue. Chief-Justice Sleigh, of New Mexico, has just been assassinated. The government should at once disarm the South, black and white alike, as a Gaudaloupe massacre is in the Southern air.

Mr. J. G. Holland, "the American Tupper," who has written and spoken more nonsense on the subject of woman for the last ten years than he can atone for should he talk wisely the rest of his life, is now delivering a lecture through the country to prove that the ballot would degrade woman and disturb the family relation. With sixteen hundred divorce cases in one year in Massachusetts, we should think the family relation was already somewhat disturbed even at the Hub, and while woman in that state has no right to the joint earnings of the marriage copartnership, and is ranked in the constitution with idiots, lunatics, minors, paupers and criminals, she is already as degraded politically as she well can be.

Mr. Speaker Colfax writes to a friend, "You need not fear that Congress will take any backward steps in reconstruction."

Bunyan's Pilgrim comforted himself that,

"He that is down, need fear no fall."

MR. SCHUYLER asks, "Are we a Nation?" He seems to think that all we need to make us a nation, is a black boy, in the Federal family—forgetting that a mother is of some importance. Is not educated womanhood a more rational basis of reconstruction than ignorant manhood?

A CHRISTMAS PRESENT.—The editor of the New York Independent announced last week that "he should hang up his stockings on Christmas eve, and look for a gift." On Christmas morning he reported with thanks to his animalistic wife, a new jewel added to the family cash.

# The Revolution.

11

## Financial Department.

**FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.**—America versus Europe—Gold, like our China, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cask for American Bills. The Credit Bazaar and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor. If Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau for the Blacks, Cannot they spare One Million for the Whites?

## THE REVOLUTION.

NO. I.

To our Servants at Washington from the People at Home.

### A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

"THE people never revolt from sickness, or the mere desire of change. It is the impatience of suffering which alone has this effect." We commend this maxim of one of the greatest of French statesmen to our representatives at Washington. Sixty thousand people out of employment in New York and two hundred thousand in all the United States!—a million mouths short of food in a country which was groaning with abundance until the collapse of the rebellion! These attest the paralyzed condition of the capital and enterprise of the most active, enterprising, money-making nation on the face of the globe. The people's suffering means Revolution.

### THE PEOPLE'S SUFFERINGS.

Our money-making machines are idle. Our shipping is swept from the face of every Ocean, and our manufacturers are working short time at a ruinous loss. The Southern States are saturated with abject poverty and misery, and our cotton growers are raked between the exterminating fire of foreign competition and that congressional monstrosity of ignorance, the cotton tax. Legitimate trade is languishing, and under the vascillating and ruinous policy of Secretary McCulloch, it is the sure road to ruin, while the most safe and profitable business in the country is speculation and gambling. Whence, then, this blight over a people that used to boast of the freedom and plenty they enjoyed above all other peoples?

### THE CURSE OF MISGOVERNMENT.

The curse of misgovernment—a government of claim agents—is fastened upon us. Ignorance and incapacity, extravagance and corruption, a shameless licentiousness, and the unbounded rapacity of the household which cries for ever, "give, give," are babbling up and bawling over in every official circle of the people's servants, commencing with Washington and extending to every corner of the land.

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789.

The same causes which produced the French

revolution which broke out in 1789, and culminated in 1815, to break out afresh with Charles Xth, Louis Philippe the citizen King, and is now smouldering under the imperial regime of a Bonaparte, are at the present moment working and seething among the masses of the people in the United States. The American people are beginning to feel the first twitches of the iron grip of want and to suffer from the evils of a blighted industry, while at the same moment they are exasperated by the oppression of privileged classes rioting in ill-gotten wealth, wrung from their hard toil by unjust laws. This is no fancy sketch, but the living picture of the people of the United States at this moment. A slave is "a man whose bodily toil and the fruits of it are the property of another."

### ARE WE NOT SLAVES?

Is not our "bodily toil and the fruits of it the property of another?" Is not every surplus dollar of our earnings, beyond that which keeps soul and body together, mortgaged in advance to pay the iniquitous swindling of a corrupt revenue system?

### WHO ARE THE THIEVES?

Cotton claim agents and their legal representatives at Washington, honorable Congressmen and accomplished patriotic Senators; the Seward-Thurlow Weed gang, and their organized swindling business with the Japanese Government steamers; their land purchase swindles of Alaska, St. Thomas, Lower California and any other spot on the face of the globe that their genius can devise as an excuse for handling the people's money; the Stanton-Thurlow Weed War Department contract thieves; the Fox-Frary Department contract thieves; the Freedmen's Bureau thieves; the Indian Bureau Thieves; the Collectors of Customs, with their organized ring of swindlers for black-mailing the merchants; the Collectors of Internal Revenue, with their organized gang of thieves robbing the people right and left; the whisky ring; the tobacco ring; and the thousand and one other rings stealing from the people's earnings everywhere, in every hole and corner of the land, from the New York city ring, with its twenty millions per annum tax swindle, to the petty larceny of the small towns; the railway and steamship corporate body swindlers; from the gigantic stock-jobbery of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the Consolidated Express Companies, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the gold-speculating-associates press cable-telegram swindlers, down to the picayune stealing of the mining and petroleum stock-jobbers. These are a few of the thieves that live in luxury by stealing from the people's earnings, to whom "our bodily toil and the fruits of it are mortgaged."

### WHO ARE THE SLAVEHOLDERS?

The Chase-McCulloch-National Bank men, who absorb the profits of the mercantile community into their exorbitant dividends of 20 to 30 per cent. per annum. The government bondholders who control legislation at Washington, and for whom the people have to work and make about \$200,000,000 per annum to support them in luxury and idleness. These slaveholders number about four hundred thousand, and they own "the bodily toil and the fruits thereof," of the forty millions of American people outside of the privileged aristocratic classes of National Bank men and bondholders.

YOU ARE THE FLEET PEOPLE OF THE FACE OF THE EARTH!

Are we? We are indeed free to raise the best cotton and largest crop in the world. We have

the soil from heaven and the labor from man, but where are the "greenbacks" to do all this? We are indeed free to raise \$500,000,000 a year in a gold and silver crop; we have the mining regions from heaven and the labor from man, but where are the "greenbacks" to do all this? We have the most active, energetic and enterprising shipbuilders, mechanics, farmers, manufacturers, business men and women, and capitalists on the face of the globe, all eager, panting and able to make money—more money, than any other nation can make—but where are the "greenbacks" to do all this? We are the freest people on the face of the earth, with plenty of greenbacks, but without them we are—well, we are just what the Chase-McCulloch British system of finance, specie payment and greenback-contraction policy have made us for the last two years—the slaves of the slaveholding national bank men and bondholders. The cry of the people is, "Down with the Chase-McCulloch, British High-Art SWINDLING FORM OF SLAVERY."

### WHAT IS FREEDOM?

More greenbacks, to raise more cotton, more gold, more silver, more corn, more wheat, more cattle, more of everything that humanity needs, to do more business at better profits, to build more railroads and ships, to annihilate more of the barriers of time and space, to democratize the wealth and luxuries of the privileged aristocratic classes by making "greenbacks" plentiful, and thus democratizing "money" which is the symbol and the key to the highest civilization and happiness of which humanity is capable. This is freedom. It is the bitter sarcasm of aristocratic Great Britain, to tell a man that he is free to live in a palace and to become rich when the tools to do all this—money and credit—are monopolized by the few of a privileged class. Shylocks, who gerrymander the money market at will, making it tight or easy, which means low or high prices to suit the Shylocks of the money bags.

### PLENTY OF MONEY IS PLENTY OF GOOD.

"Money democratized," or plenty of money in a nation, means plenty of everything that is good, both for the body and soul of humanity. More "greenbacks" means more of American progress, more Pacific Railroads and a pouring in of Chinese and European emigrants into the plateau and mining regions of the Rocky Mountains—the destined paradise of the human race. More "greenbacks" are wanted to move the vast tide of emigrants from China and Europe into the gold and silver mining regions of the Rocky Mountains, which, with their labor, will produce thousands of millions which will pay and handle our whole national debt in gold and silver as a mere trifle. But we must have more greenbacks to do this—to make the gold dollar of 1890 worth only fifty cents of the gold dollar of 1868. Without labor and without greenbacks this vast mine of wealth, placed in our hands by destiny, is not worth a blot on the American people. Have we a statesman who can grasp practically this vast idea of American progress?

### THE PEOPLE FACE TO FACE WITH THE POLITICIANS.

We, the people, tell you our servants at Washington that this matter has gone far enough. You have emancipated four millions of human beings in the Slave States. This is well. But why now enslave forty millions in the Free States? It is time that you, our servants at Washington, and we the people, meet face to face in order to come to a right understanding as to our relative positions and duty—let us settle the question whether you own forty millions of peo-



ple or they own you. Since the rebellion ended you have acted as if you owned them. You were sent to Washington as the voice of the people. "For populi, cor dei" has become, in your keeping, the scold and the scorn of the age. You have made our legislative halls the arena for disgraceful squabbling, for personal outgrinding and plundering the people, without one redeeming feature for two years.

#### THE POLITICIANS CREATE REVOLUTION.

Your mis-government—a government of claim agents—has brought us to "that impatience of suffering," which the French statesman, Solly, described as the forerunner of a people's revolution. If you are wise you will listen and take warning. We mean at once to have a revolutionary change. We mean no longer to have our capital lying idle, waiting upon the bull and bear stock jobbing reports and letters of a gold gambling, stock-jobbing tool of European bondholders, called Secretary of the Treasury. We will no longer have our energies cramped by oppressive laws. We call upon you, our servants at Washington, to co-operate with us by prompt, just and wise legislation in starting and giving force to that rich tide of prosperity which is waiting to well up and overflow the land.

#### WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT—GREENBACKS.

In order to do this we want more money, more greenbacks, to give confidence and facilities to commerce, agriculture, and cotton-growing in the Southern States. We want Secretary McCulloch and his British policy of specie payment and greenback contraction reversed.

#### BRITISH "HIGH ART SWINDLING" TO BE STOPPED.

We want the "High Art Swindling" of the national banking system put a stop to. We want the \$300,000,000 of national bank notes which cost the people over \$20,000,000 per annum changed into \$300,000,000 of greenbacks, which cost only the paper and printing. We want a stop put to the "High Art Swindling" of the internal revenue system, with its horde of corrupt officials that oppress and rob the people.

#### REFORM IN THE REVENUE SYSTEM.

We want a thorough change and reform in our revenue system. We want a stop put to the frauds of the whiskey ring which rob the people of two hundred millions a year, and the tobacco ring, which steals fifty millions a year, making a total which would pay the whole national debt in about six years.

#### TAXES DIRECT ON PROPERTY AND LABOR FREE.

We want an intelligent revenue system which shall be levied directly on property and luxuries, and not on the labor manufacturing and producing interests of the country—our money-making machines must work free of taxation.

#### COTTON TO BE EMANCIPATED.

We want the cotton tax taken off so that our cotton growers may have a fair chance to compete with the world, and regain our old supremacy in the markets of the world.

#### BROOKS IN GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

We want the expenses of government reduced from six hundred millions a year to at least one-third of that sum.

#### THE SACRIFICING OF THE WALL.

Too "High Art Swindling," which your Washington hypochondria has created and fostered must be changed, or we shall sweep you out of your seats in Congress, which shall know you no more. THE REVOLUTION has begun in earnest, and if you are blind enough not to see the tide of events which is rolling with the mighty force of destiny, to make this nation the great

est, freest, most prosperous and most happy on the face of the globe, then your mission is ended, and the sooner you retire into obscurity the better it will be for yourselves. A suffering and a swindled people is a dangerous power to play with.

#### THE FUTURE BRIGHT WITH PROSPERITY.

The country is entering upon an era of unexampled prosperity and national progress for which greenbacks are the tools provided by our destiny.

#### THE CRY FOR GREENBACKS—THE VOICE OF DESTINY.

The people, acting under a high instinct, are wiser than their rulers when they demand more greenbacks. Civilization increases as money increases. Since the discovery of gold in California and Australia, sixteen hundred millions of dollars in gold and silver have been added to the money of the world, of which eleven hundred millions have gone to China never to return. As the stock of money enlarges, so also does the area of human progress and invention.

#### THE DARKNESS OF THE MIDDLE AGES COEXISTENT WITH SCARCITY OF MONEY.

In the middle ages a few money-lenders held the purse-strings of Europe. Monarchs and noblemen could not move from their homes without the assistance of these men. War and peace were in their hands. The people were born, lived and died, helots and serfs, because money was scarce. They were helpless to move, for they had no cash to flee from their oppressors—the feudal lords. When they had money they freed themselves by becoming the free citizens of the free towns of Europe. Cash gave them their freedom.

#### MONEY THE GREAT DEMOCRAT AND CIVILIZER.

Money is the great emancipator and civilizer; democratizing society and placing within the reach of the millions those rich advantages of education and luxury which were confined to the few when money was scarce. For ten cents the poor seamstress can command, any day in Broadway, a finer carriage than Cinderella's fairy.

#### THE BRUTE FORM AND HIGH ART SWINDLING SLAVERY SYSTEMS.

The rebellion liberated four millions of colored people from the brute form of slavery, by which the Southern slaveholder worked them as he did cattle. But the brute form of slavery is not one whit more iniquitous than the High Art Swindling form of slavery under which the nations of Europe are groaning from the tyranny of national funded debt and exhausting taxation and the Bank of England system of people-robbery.

#### OUR FINANCE AND FUNDED SYSTEMS A BAD COPY OF BRITISH SLAVERY.

The man who lives under a system of national funded debt and a national banking system like our own, which is a bad copy of the Bank of England, is "one whose labor is mortgaged and the property of another;" is one who is more of a helot and serf than any European; is one who is manacled by a slavery only a degree better than that of the colored people before the rebellion.

#### THE CHARGE-MCCULLOCH GAVE OUR OPPRESSION.

The Secretary McCulloch-Salmon P. Chase specie payment-greenback-contraction-policy, is riveting this High Art Swindling form of slavery on the people of what are called, with somewhat of irony, the "free States." Mr. McCulloch's policy is making slaves of forty millions by giving their bodily toil and the fruits of it to about four hundred thousand National bank

men and bondholders here and in Europe. The swindle of McCulloch's specie payment notion is making the people work to make forty per cent profit in gold for bondholders and National bank men. Mr. McCulloch's-Salmon P. Chase-policy of greenback contraction has cost the country since he has been in office, in the space of two years, more money than the whole National debt, from the enormous losses in the paralyzation of our capital, enterprise and progress, and the enormous shrinkage of values, spirited into the air for nobody's gain.

#### DOWN WITH THE CHARGE-MCCULLOCH GANG.

The first step towards individual and National improvement is to get rid of McCulloch and his British policy of finance. The people, and every friend of civilization, cry "down with McCulloch and up with American progress." Greenbacks and freedom, progress and civilization, are the destiny of the American Nation.

#### THE PEOPLE.

#### THE REVOLUTION IS ROLLING—PREPARE FOR NO. 2.

#### Brown Brothers & Co. and Pacific Mail.

We have received some interesting communications in regard to the inside management of this Company and its connection with Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., the eminent Anglo-American banking firm, and the Novelty Iron Works, also details of the recent contest for the election of directors, and the machinery of legal injunctions used therein by the factions contending for the control of this great National enterprise. One writer furnishes a list of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co.'s speculations, written in terms of condemnation scarcely justifiable, commencing with the selling out of their dry goods business to Messrs. Amory, Leeds & Co. and their affair with the auctioneers Haggerty & Co. respecting the merchandise on which Amory, Leeds & Co. obtained a cash advance, shortly before their disastrous failure, continuing down to the management of the Collins line of steamships, the Thompsonville Carpet Company again in connection with auctioneers affairs, Haggerty and others, and the Cumberland Coal Company affair, winding up with the Novelty Iron Works, which he states belong virtually to the Messrs. Brown. A stockholder asks the rather pertinent question, "Why do Brown Brother & Company borrow and use the cash of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company to the extent of \$500,000, in the Novelty Iron Works? If Pacific Mail furnishes the capital to run the Novelty Iron Works, is it not entitled to the profits, or a portion thereof? Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., with their enormous capital, and transacting the business of giving their 60 day sight bills for American cash, ought to be the lenders themselves to the Novelty Iron Works, and not borrowers of the funds of a company of which they are directors and managers." "Stockholder" states that Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company have the reputation of selling about \$3,000,000 per week of their 60 days sight bills, and that this operation ought to give them the permanent use of \$27,000,000 of American cash capital in addition to their own large assets. The fact of the Novelty Iron Works borrowing \$500,000 from Pacific Mail and being guaranteed by James Brown, Esq., senior partner of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company is considered by "Stockholder" a curious circumstance, inconceivable with the enormous cash capital Messrs. Brown Brothers & Company enjoy the use of all the time, and with that nice sense of humor which ought to characterize the legal law-tee of the cash of a

# The Revolution.

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corporation, more especially with persons occupying the proud position of the Messrs. Brown. THE REVOLUTION of next week will discuss this matter of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

THE MONEY MARKET is easy at 6 to 7 per cent for call loans, notwithstanding the preparations for the periodical settlement of accounts at the close of the year. The banks are discounting liberally for their customers at 7 per cent., and in the street prime business paper is wanted at 7 to 8 per cent. when maturing within two months, and longer dates at 8 to 9 per cent. The New York City banks have been gaining steadily in the reserve of legal tenders since their weekly statement published on November 23d, when the amount was \$51,171,811 against \$60,657,932 on December 28th; while their loans for November 23d were about \$5,000,000 more than at present, being \$219,547,649 against \$244,620,312 in their last statement.

The following statement shows the condition of the New York City banks this week and last:

	Dec. 21.	Dec. 28	Difference.
Loans,	\$244,165,333.	\$244,620,312.	Inc. \$ 454,959
Specie,	13,498,102.	10,971,963.	Dec. 2,496,140
Circulation,	34,103,161.	34,134,400.	Inc. 115,299
Deposits,	177,632,583.	178,715,101.	Inc. 1,083,608
Legal tenders,	58,311,432.	60,657,932.	Inc. 2,346,500

THE CLEARINGS for the week (five business days) show increased activity in the loan market, being \$469,170,304 against \$473,151,562 for the preceding week, and \$607,000,000 for the last week in April.

THE GOLD MARKET has been active throughout the week, ranging between 134 1/4 and 135 as the extremes. The following is a table of the weekly fluctuations:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, 21,	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4
Monday, 23,	133 1/4	133 1/4	133	133 1/4
Tuesday, 24,	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4
Wednesday, Christmas Holiday.				
Thursday, 26,	134	134 1/4	133 1/4	134
Friday, 27,	134 1/4	134 1/4	133 1/4	134
Saturday, 28,	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4	133 1/4

The gold market has been over-sold to a heavy amount, in anticipation of the coin disbursements; about \$24,000,000 by government for the interest on bonds due in January, and the rates paid for borrowing gold have ranged from 1-44 and 1-32 per cent. per day to flat without interest. The price of gold has been sustained by the heavy shipments of specie, being for the week ending December 28th, \$3,226,677. The New York City banks have lost about \$5,000,000 in specie since November 30th, on which date they reported \$16,873,800 specie in their vaults against \$10,971,969 on December 28th.

The following table gives the amount of specie reported and held by the New York City banks, and the price of gold on the dates named; and it is matter for regret that Secretary McCulloch conceals the amount of gold in the Treasury Department, which would add materially to the value of this table:

	Specie in Banks.	Specie Ex.	Price of Gold.
June 8,	\$18,699,038.	\$2,216,624.	135 1/4 to 137
October 26,	6,161,164.	214,696.	144 to 141 1/4
November 2,	8,974,835.	519,664.	142 1/4 to 140 1/4
November 9,	12,516,984.	298,112.	141 1/4 to 138 1/4
November 16,	13,734,964.	342,285.	141 1/4 to 136 1/4
November 23,	15,499,110.	346,075.	140 1/4 to 139 1/4
November 30,	16,572,890.	337,575.	140 1/4 to 136 1/4
December 7,	15,805,254.	337,575.	137 1/4 to 133 1/4
December 14,	14,846,825.	1,705,420.	135 to 133 1/4
December 21,	13,468,109.	1,584,209.	135 to 133 1/4
December 28,	10,971,969.	3,226,677.	134 1/4 to 133

The preceding table shows on June 8th, the highest amount of specie held by the banks \$18,699,038 during the year until November 30th, when they had gained about \$10,500,000 from October 26th, after the government disbursements of coin for gold interest due Nov. 1. Since November 30th, we have shipped abroad \$70,000,000 in specie, and the bank statement for this week shows a loss of only \$5,000,000. On January 2d, government will commence disbursing about \$24,000,000 in gold, and as the bulk of this sum will be re-invested in bonds for foreign and domestic account, the stock of gold on the market will be materially increased. Opinions differ widely as to the effect of these heavy disbursements on the price of gold, many arguing that the short sales have discounted the whole of the January dividends, and that the buying in of the shorts is likely to advance its price, coupled with the export demand for specie which is expected to be from two to three millions per week. In view of \$24,000,000 of gold being placed on the market, and the probability of a considerable increase in the ex-

ports of cotton and other produce during January and February, the natural course of the gold market is certainly not upwards. Those who operate for a rise are doing so against the natural current of the market. At present

## THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

is firm and bankers are not anxious to sell at present quotations, in the expectation of obtaining higher rates from the demand to remit the January dividends. The cash demand from importers is light, and commercial bills are in better supply, but the settlements on maturing letters of credit are considerable and these absorb the surplus of bills. The quotations are: Prime bankers 60 days sterling bills, 110 1/4 to 110 1/4; and sight, 110 1/4 to 110 1/4; Prime Commercial, 109 1/4 to 109 1/4; Prime bankers' francs on Paris 60 days, 5-13 1/4 to 5-12 1/4; and sight, 5-11 1/4 to 5-10; Prime Commercial 60 days, 5-15 1/4 to 5-15; and others, 5-18 1/4 to 5-16 1/4.

## UNITED STATES SECURITIES

are active and strong from a steady investment demand from savings banks and others, and private capitalists. The leading dealers have bought for some time past all that were offered at a fraction under the selling quotations, in expectation of a much higher range of prices in the month of January, when about \$50,000,000 in currency will be disbursed by government for interest. The bulk of this sum will doubtless be reinvested in government securities. The 5-20 bonds of 1862 and 1865 are also heavily oversold and are scarce for delivery. The bears sold them in expectation of a large return of these bonds from Europe, which, however, has not taken place. The Scotis brought less than \$500,000 instead of \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000 the bears were calculating upon. The investment demand for Central Pacific Railroad bonds is also becoming quite a feature among those investors and banks, and savings banks that employ their funds in government bonds. The German bankers have placed some round sums of these Central Pacific Railroad bonds in Europe, and they are negotiating for a heavy amount to send to Europe where they say that the more cautious European capitalists will give them a decided preference above government bonds, inasmuch as they are interest and principal payable in gold, and a first lien upon the road in a State, California, which has never recognized any other standard for money contracts than the gold dollar. They also realize 9 per cent. dividend in currency. Messrs. Fisk & Hatch are the legal agents of the Central Pacific Railroad Company for the sale of its bonds, and the growing domestic demand prevents the accumulation sufficient to spare shipments to Europe. Messrs. Fisk & Hatch report the government bond market active and strong at the following quotations:

United States 6's, 1881 Registered, 106 1/4 to 105 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 112 1/4 to 112 1/4; U. S. 5-20 Registered, 105 1/4 to 105 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 1862, 108 1/4 to 108 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 1864, 106 1/4 to 106 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 1865, 105 1/4 to 106; U. S. Coupon, new, 1865, 108 1/4 to 108 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 1867, 106 1/4 to 106 1/4; U. S. 10-40 Registered, 101 1/4 to 101 1/4; U. S. Coupon, 101 1/4 to 102; U. S. 7-30 2d 104 1/4 to 105; U. S. 7-30 3d 104 1/4 to 105.

## THE GRAND AFFAIRS OF BUSINESS AFFAIRS

is more hopeful since the stoppage of Secretary McCulloch's suicidal policy of specie payment and green-back contraction. Bankers, money lenders and merchants are of opinion that bottom has been touched, and they look for Congressional legislation which will reverse the financial policy pursued by Mr. McCulloch since he has been in office. The country is just entering upon a new era of unexampled prosperity and national progress, for which non-contraction and green-backs instead of national bank notes, are required by the voice of the people.

## THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

is active and strong, more especially in the great trunk lines, which are known to be under the influence of the Vanderbilt combinations, namely, Erie, New York Central and Hudson River. The most active speculative stocks are Erie, New York Central, and North West preferred. Rock Island is weak, notwithstanding its large increase of earnings owing to the heavy sales which have been making for some time past on buyers' and sellers' options, by inside parties connected with the company. Pacific Mail is one of the most active speculative stocks on the street. Ohio and Mississippi shares are active and in demand for investment. Among the miscellaneous shares, Western Union Telegraph is the most active, having sold as high as 38. Messrs. Fisk & Co., 19 Broad st. quote the following prices on Wednesday, Dec. 28:

Canton, 48 1/4 to 49; Boston W. P., 29 1/4 to 29 1/4; Quick-silver, 51 1/4 to 52 1/4; Mariposa, 7 to 8, preferred, 13; Pacific Mail, 110 1/4 to 110 1/4; Atlantic Mail, 117 to 117 1/4; W.

U. Telegraph, 36 1/4 to 36 1/4; N. Y. Central, 116 1/4 to 117; Erie, 72 1/4 to Hudson River, 131 to 132 1/4; Reading, 98 to 98 1/4; Wabash, 41 1/4 to 41 1/4; Milwaukee & St. Paul, 48 1/4 to 47, preferred, 63 1/4 to 63 1/4; Ohio & Mississippi, 58 to 58 1/4; Michigan Central, 107 1/4 to 108; Michigan Southern, 64 1/4 to 65; Illinois Central, 133 1/4; Pittsburg, 87 to 87 1/4; Toledo, 97 1/4 to 97 1/4; Rock Island, 97 1/4 to 97 1/4; North Western, 58 1/4 to 58 1/4; do. preferred, 70 1/4 to 70 1/4; Fort Wayne, 97 1/4 to 97 1/4.

The total sales of stocks registered on the lists of the old Exchange Board for the week ending Saturday, were 190,000 shares, and at the open board 280,000 shares, making a total of 470,000 shares sold besides those in the long room and in the street. The total registered sales of government bonds for the week were \$1,700,000, and other State and City bonds, \$800,000, making a total of \$2,500,000 against \$3,900,000 the preceding week.

## THE COTTON RECEIPTS

at all the ports this week show the largest increase of the season, being 105,617 bales against 87,757 last week, and 79,176, 87,451, 78,879, 61,987, and 62,000 for the preceding weeks. Since Sept. 1st, the aggregate receipts this year are 749,125 bales against 681,633 bales for the corresponding period in 1866, being an increase, this season over last, of 67,512 bales. There has also been the largest increase in the export demand for this week than in any other of this season, the total shipments from all the ports being 69,477 bales against 45,466 bales last week, 60,335, 45,081, 33,212, 24,030, and 31,813 bales the preceding weeks. The shipments from all the ports for the corresponding period of last year, were 34,940 bales, and the same period for this year shows an increase of 34,537 bales. Since September 1st, 1867, the total exports from all the ports are 358,159 bales against 249,781 bales for the corresponding period of last year; and the present stocks at all the ports are 327,001 bales against 527,722 bales at the corresponding period in 1866. The market has been weak, the supply being greater than the demand, and the obstructions caused by the late snow, and the scarcity of freight room have tended, in a great measure, to increase the price of handling in the streets. At the close, however, from the continued firmness in the gold market, and the street obstructions being partially removed, the market became stronger and prices are steadier. The quotations, at the close, were as follows: Middling Uplands, 15 1/4 cents against 15 1/4 cents last week; Mobile 16 cents against 15 1/4 cents last week; New Orleans and Texas, 16 1/4 cents against 17 cents last week. The sales of the week were 12,699 bales, of which 8,579 bales were for export, 2,563 bales for spinners, and 1,557 bales on speculation. The exports from New York this week show a large increase, being 18,934 bales against 9,667 bales last week, 12,263, 12,058, 14,628, and 10,207 bales for the preceding weeks. In the receipts of the different ports this week compared with the corresponding period of last year, there is a heavy increase at Savannah, the total being 22,072 bales against 9,566 bales in 1866. At Mobile the week's receipts were 23,560 bales against 18,808 bales last year, while at New Orleans there is a decrease this week, compared with the corresponding period of last year being 36,010 bales against 27,764 bales last year. The total receipts at all the ports this year are 19,813 bales more than those of last year, which were 85,804 bales. The stock of American cotton in Liverpool on Dec. 14th was 8 per cent. of the whole against 31 per cent. last year.

## IN BRIEF

the market has been very quiet, and the exports this week are the smallest of the year. The receipts of flour have been plentiful and the demand has not been so great. Prices are weak, but holders are not anxious to sell, expecting to see an improvement in business after the holidays are over. Wheat is exceedingly dull; the sales of the week being only about 35,000 bushels. At the close, No. 2 Spring was \$1.25 to 1.26. Corn has been steadier but not in great demand, and the stock is less by one-third than it was at the same time in 1866, though the supply of new corn is increasing and has taken the place of the old in supplying the demand. Western mixed is quoted at \$1.25 to \$1.41. Western Yellow, \$1.41 to \$1.51. and Southern White at \$1.25 to \$1.47. In Wheat, Red Winter is quoted at \$2.46 to \$2.75; Amber do., \$2.46 to \$2.55, and White at \$2.75 to \$2.85. Superfine flour is \$2.46 to \$2.75; Extra State, \$2.75 to \$2.85, and Shipping Round Hopp Ohio, \$1.60 to \$1.75.

## GENERAL BUSINESS

has been more active for the five business days in proportion, than last week, and the indications are favorable to more activity and prosperity in trade after the opening of the new year.

## THE COTTON FUTURE

for the week (five days) were \$1,466,397, against \$1,107,456

GLIMMER, \$1,567,388, \$1,248,028, and \$1,461,488 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$1,668,078, against \$2,117,673, \$4,394,361, \$2,177,578, and \$1,668,287 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, are unusually small, being only \$1,667,333, against \$1,368,182, \$4,477,613, \$1,267,264, \$4,464,463, and \$4,137,614 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie for the week are \$1,224,677, against \$1,604,504, \$1,054,439, \$237,875 and \$337,186 for the preceding weeks.

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Parties getting their Teas from us may confidently rely upon getting them pure and fresh, as they come direct from the Custom House stores to our warehouses.

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COFFEES ROASTED AND GROUND DAILY.

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# The Revolution.

15

## UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.

ONE MILE

OF THE

### UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.

ROUTING VERT FROM OMAHA ACROSS THE CONTINENT

ARE NOW COMPLETED

This brings the line to the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, and it is expected that the track will be laid thirty miles farther, to Evans Pass, the highest point on the road, by January. The maximum grade from the foot of the mountains to the summit is but eighty feet to the mile, while that of many eastern roads is over one hundred. Work in the rock-cuttings on the western slope will continue through the winter, and there is now no reason to doubt that the entire grand line to the Pacific will be open for business in 1870.

The means provided for the construction of this Great National Work are ample. The United States grants its Six Per Cent. Bonds at the rate of from \$15,000 to \$45,000 per mile, for which it takes second lien as a security, and receives payment to a large if not to the full extent of its claim in services. These Bonds are issued as each twenty mile section is finished, and after it has been examined by United States Commissioners and pronounced to be in all respects a first-class road, thoroughly supplied with depots, repair-shops, stations, and all the necessary rolling stock and other equipments.

The United States also makes a donation of 12,000 acres of land to the mile, which will be a source of large revenue to the Company. Much of this land in the Platte Valley is among the most fertile in the world, and other large portions are covered with heavy pine forests and abound in coal of the best quality.

The Company is also authorized to issue its own First Mortgage Bonds to an amount equal to the issue of the Government and no more. Hon. E. D. Morgan and Hon. Oakes Ames are Trustees for the Bondholders, and deliver the Bonds to the Company only as the work progresses, so that they always represent an actual and productive value.

The authorized capital of the Company is \$100,000,000, of which over \$5,000,000 have been paid on the work already done.

### EARNINGS OF THE COMPANY.

At present, the profits of the Company are derived only from its local traffic, but this is already much more than sufficient to pay the interest on all the Bonds the Company can issue, if not another mile were built. It is not doubted that when the road is completed the through traffic of the only line connecting the Atlantic and Pacific States will be large beyond precedent, and, as there will be no competition, it can always be done at profitable rates.

It will be noticed that the Union Pacific Railroad is, in fact, a Government work, built under the supervision of Government officers, and to a large extent with Government money, and that its bonds are issued under Government direction. It is believed that no similar security is so carefully guarded, and certainly no other is based upon a larger or more valuable property. As the Company's

### FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS

are offered for the present at 90 CENTS ON THE DOLLAR, they are the cheapest security in the market, being more than 10 per cent. lower than U. S. Stock. They pay

### SIX PER CENT. IN GOLD.

or over NINE PER CENT. upon the investment, and have thirty years to run before maturity. Subscriptions will be received in New York at the Company's Office, No. 20 Nassau street, and by

CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK, No. 7 Nassau street,  
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and by the Company's advertised Agents throughout the United States. Remittances should be made in drafts or other funds payable in New York, and the bonds will be sent free of charge by return express. Parties subscribing through local agents will look to them for their safe delivery.

A NEW PAMPHLET AND MAP, showing the Progress of the Work, Reasons for Construction, and value of Bonds, may be obtained at the Company's Office or of its advertised agents, or will be sent free on application.

JOHN J. CISCO, Treasurer,

New York.

November 23, 1867.

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Where is Columbus? Ask the first hundred Union Pacific Railroad capitalists who numbered their

the Credit Foncier grounds. Is it not the geographical center of this nation? Ninety-six miles due west from Omaha, the new Chicago; ninety-six miles from the Kansas border on the south; ninety-six miles from the Missouri line on the north, Columbus is situated on the upper portion, at the junction of the Platte and the Loup Rivers, and is surrounded by the finest agricultural lands in the world.

The Credit Foncier lands extend from the railway station across the railway, and enclose the Loup River Bridge; the county road to the Pioneer settlement running directly through the domain. As the railway system expands, Columbus will naturally be the railway center of the Sioux City, Nebraska City and Nemaha Valley Railroads.

The Union Pacific Railroad Company were not slow to see that Columbus was the natural point for an important station. The Credit Mobilier owns lands near the city, and some leading generals and statesmen are also property owners round about. Would you make money easy? Find, then, the site of a city and buy the farm it is to be built on. How many regret the non-purchase of that lot in New York; that block in Buffalo; that farm in Chicago; that quarter section in Omaha. Once these city properties could have been bought for a song. Astor and Olcott made their fortunes in this way. The Credit Foncier, by owning the principal towns along the Pacific line to California, enriches its shareholders while distributing its profits by selling alternate lots at a nominal price to the public.

The Credit Foncier owns 600 acres at Columbus, divided into 80 ft. streets and 20 ft. alleys.

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The object of the Credit Foncier in selling alternate lots at such a low figure, is to open up the boundless resources along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad to the young men of the East. Landed proprietorship gives a man self-reliance, and may stimulate the employee to become employer. Fifty dollars invested ten years ago in Chicago or Omaha, produces many thousand now.

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We do not forget that every mile of road built westward, adds to the value of property in Omaha and Columbus. Cheyenne, at the foot of the mountains, four hundred miles west of Columbus, is but six months old, and has three thousand people. Lots there selling for three thousand dollars.

Most of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the Directors and Shareholders of the Credit Mobilier, are the Shareholders of the Credit Foncier of America. Call at the office and examine the papers.

Most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

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THE REVOLUTION AND ITS TREATMENT OF  
WOMEN'S RIGHTS THEMES

BY

DOROTHY J. CLINE

A thesis submitted  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree Master of Science, Major in  
Journalism, South Dakota  
State University

1975

themselves for equality. The Revolution bristled with wit, humor, and indignation, and it drew the attention of the leading political figures of the day. It was less successful in attracting in number the women readers it sought.

This study of The Revolution includes the publication's history, its format, and its content in regard to women's rights. All issues of The Revolution published during the time Miss Anthony was proprietor were examined for editorial treatment of the basic themes of the women's rights movement.